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ABSTRACT

Contents of these hearings include the following: (1) the testimony and prepared statements of Dr. Mark Lohman, assistant professor, School of Education, University of California, Riverside; (2) "On the road to educational failure: a lawyer's guide to tracking,"--Em Hall, reprinted from "Inequality in Education," No. 5, Harvard Center for Law and Education; (3) "Ability grouping: do's and don'ts," Warren Findley and Miriam Bryan, reprinted from "Integrated Education," Issue 53, September-October, 1971; (4) "Voices from the South: Black students talk about their experiences in desegregated schools,"--Betsy Fancher, a special report from Southern Regional Council Inc., August, 1970; (5) "What students perceive," a report of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights; with an introduction by Alvin F. Poussaint, M.D.; and, (6) "The miseducation of white children," reprinted from Chapter 4, "Institutional Racism in America," Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1969, Englewood Cliffs, N.J. (JM)

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EQUAL EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITY—1971

HEARINGS

BEFORE THE

SELECT COMMITTEE ON EQUAL EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITY

OF THE

UNITED STATES SENATE

NINETY-SECOND CONGRESS

FIRST SESSION

ON

EQUAL EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITY

PART 20—UNEQUAL SCHOOL PRACTICES

WASHINGTON, D.C., NOVEMBER 8, 1971

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH,
EDUCATION & WELFARE
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CONTENTS

UNEQUAL SCHOOL PRACTICES

	Page
Lohman, Dr. Mark R., assistant professor, School of Education, University of California, Riverside	10155
Prepared statement of	10180

APPENDIX

On the Road to Educational Failure: A Lawyer's Guide to Tracking	10259
Ability Grouping: Do's and Don'ts	10271
Special Report—Southern Regional Council	10276
What Students Perceive: A Report of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights	10320
The Miseducation of White Children	10409

UNEQUAL SCHOOL PRACTICES

MONDAY, NOVEMBER 8, 1971

U.S. SENATE
SELECT COMMITTEE ON
EQUAL EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITY
Washington, D.C.

The Select Committee met at 10:10 a.m., pursuant to call, in room 1318, of the New Senate Office Building, the Honorable Walter F. Mondale, chairman of the committee, presiding.

Present: Senator Mondale.

Staff members present: William C. Smith, staff director and general counsel; Donn Mitchell, professional staff; William Hennigan, minority staff director; and Leonard Strickman, minority counsel.

Senator MONDALE. The committee will come to order.

This morning we have Dr. Mark Lohman, assistant professor, School of Education, University of California, Riverside. He has done a study for the committee on "The Practice of Inequality Within American Public Schools."

Dr. Lohman, if you will please come to the witness stand.

You may proceed.

STATEMENT OF DR. MARK R. LOHMAN, ASSISTANT PROFESSOR, SCHOOL OF EDUCATION, UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, RIVERSIDE

Dr. LOHMAN. Thank you, Senator Mondale.

What I thought I would do this morning, rather than present a formal statement, is summarize the main ideas contained within the document.

Senator MONDALE. All right. What we will do, then, is include your full statement in the record* as though read, and then you can highlight those points and make those observations you think should be made here, and then we can have questions and answers.

Dr. LOHMAN. Thank you. And, at any time, I would invite you or any other member of the committee or the staff to interrupt me with questions as it seems appropriate.

Senator MONDALE. Very well.

Dr. LOHMAN. I think there is a basic finding in American education today that overrides the concern of this paper, or brings about the concern of this paper.

Senator MONDALE. Let's begin with this: What is your paper directed at? What is its area?

* See prepared statement, p. 10180.

Dr. LOHMAN. The focus of the paper is to look at practices that take place within a school itself. That is, what are the ongoing things that happen within schools that may lead to or increase inequality among large groups of youngsters?

Senator MONDALE. For example, tracking?

Dr. LOHMAN. That would be one example.

Senator MONDALE. Spending more money on one kind of student than another?

Dr. LOHMAN. But it would focus less on the allocation of funds, but the actual practice—what did you do with these funds?

In other words, if you gave certain children free texts and a complete library and did not give it to other children, that would be the kind of event I am looking at.

Senator MONDALE. You are not looking at differences between schools, but within a school?

Dr. LOHMAN. And, of course, you want to compare schools in different communities.

But the focus is going to be on the kinds of practices that occur day to day, every day, in public schools all over this country.

Senator MONDALE. Fine. That is good.

Dr. LOHMAN. And I think in talking about just those kinds of practices that go on inside our public schools, as I started to say, there is this overriding serious issue I think we are all aware of, and that is that large numbers of children spend a very long time of their youth in public schools and they come out of that schooling experience with very, very few skills. They are lacking in the basic intellectual performance—to be precise about that, they are barely functionally literate. They cannot read such things as a newspaper and comprehend its meaning.

None of these children I am talking about can properly be called mentally retarded in any physiological sense. These are not brain-damaged children I am talking about.

They constitute a massive set of failures who leave our public schools and try to find some kind of functional place in our society. And I think we are all again aware that our society requires considerable skill and intelligence to function in this country.

The group that I will be addressing most of my remarks to is largely composed of children from nonwhite ethnic backgrounds and children whose parents are economically poor. They are overrepresented in this general group we are talking about.

Senator MONDALE. Would you not say there are many, many poor whites that end up in this category?

Dr. LOHMAN. Very definitely.

My purpose here today is not simply to come here and condemn public education before you or any other group. I am not trying to come here and say, "Look, the public schools are ruining millions of American children; let us blame them."

I think we have done too much of that kind of wringing of hands and trying to blame parents, teachers, or someone else.

Rather, what I think my purpose here today is, is to say, "Let us look at some of the kinds of practices that go on every day in our public schools"—from the point of view of which one of those prac-

tices may be increasing and bringing about inequality. And then I think we can go from there and talk about practices that would ameliorate those conditions.

In writing this paper for the committee, I think there are some important assumptions that underlie it. And if one questions those assumptions, then you are going to question the kinds of statements I made in the paper.

Distinguishing Individual Differences Among Children

One very important assumption is to distinguish between the concept of individual differences and inequality. I think a lot of people are confused about that issue.

I think we all know that not all children are the same. And in fact, any group of children, even within one's own family, are very different in their abilities to perform intellectual subjects. They are very different in their interests, different in their motivations. No one would, I do believe, deny the notion of individual differences among any group of children.

But where individual differences leave off and inequality enters the picture is when we begin looking at the large groups of children. And so I take the assumption that, for example, intellectual ability, basic intellectual ability is distributed similarly among all large groups of children. That is, if I look at all white children versus all black children, we take the basic assumption that the genetic endowment is distributed similarly in those populations.

You can cut it lots of other ways. I could take all Baptists versus all Methodists and again I would make the assumption that intellectual genetic ability is distributed similarly. I am sure you are aware there are scholars today who are questioning this issue of genetic endowment, and I am not going to take that issue on. I think it is best for us to assume equal distribution of intellectual talent and make that assumption and proceed in our policy decisions from there.

In the same way as I talked about the distribution of intellectual characteristics, we could say the same thing about important personality characteristics, such as the desire to achieve, or motivation, or leadership. These characteristics are found distributed similarly in all large groups of populations, all ethnic groups, no matter how you cut it, ethnic groups or by social class. So that when we go into that school and look at the actual performances or we look at the actual numbers, say, of children who hold given offices, who hold leadership offices, and we find that differences occur, large differences occur, and these differences can be predicted by social class or ethnic background, then that is a suggestion that some kind of inequality is occurring; that something is going on.

Now, it may be the culture from which the children come. You know, it may be any number of things. It may be some religious practice that goes on. But it is a tipoff that something is happening and that we ought to be looking at it.

Three Main Determinants of Inequality

I think, then, as I pointed out in my paper, there are three main outcome variables that we look at to try to find out if inequality exists in public education, in a school system.

The first would be the distribution of achievement scores. Do you find substantial differences among the ethnic groups?

I am sure we are all familiar with the results of the Coleman report on that issue. There are substantial differences among ethnic groups in achievement.

We also want to look at the aspirations of a child. What are their future aspirations? How do they differ?

And the third component that you are going to want to look at is the self-concepts, the self-esteem that these children have for themselves. How do they feel about themselves? How do they describe themselves? What are they doing about their own abilities?

Those are the three outcomes of schooling that anyone can use as an index for looking at inequality or equality of educational opportunity in our public schools.

Common Practices Leading to Inequality

Now what the paper does, using those three indices as kind of benchmarks that you are going to want to look at, the paper then focuses on six common practices that take place in our schools that lead to inequality. And I chose these six not because it is an all-inclusive list, but because I think they represent the most powerful and the most common kinds of events that are taking place in our schools.

Just briefly, the first one discusses an institutional effect. What is the significance of assigning a child to a school?

I think it has only been recently that educators have begun to recognize the importance of that issue. We have more or less taken for granted the assignment of a child based on the notion of his neighborhood and the economics of crowding. We have not thought much more about it than that until recently.

Senator Mondale. So that is of recent origin, that we are beginning to see the significance of assignment to a school?

That is what I think is bothering people so much about the busing issue. By tradition it has almost always been assumed that you check into the school in the neighborhood where you would like to buy a house and if you like that, and so on, and if you have enough money to make such choices, you buy the house. And suddenly someone says: "Wait a minute, we are going to have a wholly different strategy for a school assignment, because we have found such an issue bears tremendously on a child's life process."

Dr. Lohman. That is exactly the case. And research on this issue really did not come out until the early 1960's which told us something about the independent effect that the school itself has, that is, an effect independent of what your IQ might be, or what your parents' origin might be.

There was an institutional effect independent of those main forces, and we only now are beginning to understand it.

The second would be, all right, now we have the child assigned to a school. What about his assignment to teachers and to a classroom and to various classes, and the labeling of those classes? And here we get into the issue of tracking. That is the second main effect I talk about.

The third would be the peer group. That is, a child—as I pointed out, our models of learning tend to emphasize a child, a teacher, and

a stimulus item—a textbook—and we tend to overlook the basic fundamental fact of all schools, that learning takes place in a highly social atmosphere. Every time you perform in school, there are 30 other children watching you perform. This has a very powerful effect.

The fourth is the teacher and pupil interaction itself, obviously a very crucial phenomenon. Here we get into the area of what has been called teacher expectation.

The fifth area would be the curriculum. And again, people would tend to be surprised, I think, by some of my comments, that curriculum, alone, leads to inequality.

Testing Procedures

And, finally, the last one may be the most powerful of all I have presented. That is the method by which we need to evaluate children, testing procedures—the assumptions underlying our evaluation procedures may be the most powerful in-school practice affecting the performance outcome of children.

Senator, at this point I would stop, and if you feel it would be useful, I would go into each one of those and highlight the main issues.

Senator Mondale. This is the way we learn. Just go ahead.

Dr. Lohman. OK.

Senator Mondale. That is the way we claim we learn.

Dr. Lohman. Let us go back to the first one, institutional effect.

Institutional Effect of School Assignment

I think probably one of the most important things that came out of—to some degree—out of the Coleman Report, but also came out of some other studies that have been done, has been a recognition of the basic failure of the equal facilities argument—the equal facilities argument as a way of bringing about equality of educational opportunity. I think the wisdom of the late 1950's and early 1960's, when we looked at children doing poorly in the school, was we thought we could buy our way out of it. We looked and said, "They have a lousy facility. They have a poor laboratory and the textbooks aren't up to date."

We tended to look for material items they were lacking, or their teachers were not being paid sufficient amounts of money.

And I really think our wisdom was we could buy our way out. But we now find today—I can take you to high schools in the country where almost every measure you could find, that you could think of, the facilities are the same. They have the same chemistry labs, the teachers are paid the same, the number of books in the library are the same, and yet the differences in achievement among children can be enormously different.

School Charter Determines Students' Achievement

The interesting question is: How does this come about? How does this happen? And what I suggest is, in this first section on the institutional effect, is that the notion of a school's charter is central to our understanding of how this comes about.

Senator Mondale. Notion of what?

Dr. LOHMAN. A school's charter.

What I am arguing—and I am borrowing here now from a colleague in the field of sociology—is a concept of the motion that every school has a charter. And what I mean by that is that a charter is the agreed upon social definition of a school's products. In other words, somehow we have certain beliefs about children who come out of certain schools. We just assume those children are quite competent and quite intelligent; also, we have general beliefs that children who come out of some other kinds of schools are not as competent nor as intelligent.

The argument in the paper is that one way of understanding how these charters get created and take their effect is by the stratification that takes place in our neighborhoods today. I think to some degree this is a rather recent effect.

I do not know the town in which you grew up, but I think most of us came out of smaller towns where quite often our family physician lived next to the guy who carried coal. The poor homes sat next to quite wealthy homes. But I am sure we are all aware that the current trend in our neighborhood is not like that.

Senator MONDALE. Would you not say that it is likely that the growing wealth of this country has contributed to social stratification? The growing urbanization and suburbanization of the country has led to very finely calibrated differences of income and social status bunched together in a community?

Dr. LOHMAN. Exactly.

Senator MONDALE. The likes of which we never had, say, 40 years ago?

Dr. LOHMAN. I think it is happening very rapidly.

Senator MONDALE. Where I grew up in my little town, we went to school with the banker's son and the doctor's daughter, and the farmer's son and the poorest kid in town—all together. No one ever thought anything about it.

Dr. LOHMAN. I think one of the consequences, then, of this layering is the creation of a series of stratified communities schools of differing charters that are now becoming—you know, it is almost like automobiles. You have your Lincoln school, and you have your Mercury school, and you have your Ford school, and your Toyota school in terms of meanings attributed to them by the community.

There are the quality schools. There are the average schools. And there are the inadequate schools. And again I point out, it may be independent. It may be that very poor schools having massive amounts of Federal aid being poured into them for compensatory education—it may be that this has not made any difference.

Senator MONDALE. Are you persuaded about what you just said? That it is correct? That money has not made any difference?

COMPENSATORY EDUCATION VERY DISAPPOINTING

Dr. LOHMAN. It has not had the desired impact. I think if you look at all of the reviews that have been made of compensatory education, it has been very disappointing.

I am sure there are isolated instances where there have been benefits, but it has been a very discouraging history. And I think the Com-

mission of Racial Isolation that looked at this in 1967 and 1968 came out with that kind of basic finding. They looked at programs all over the country and were not happy with what they saw.

Senator MONDALE. I recently read a report on some Harvard study which sought to analyze sophisticated studies of various strategies for equality, and; concluded, too, that it did not see any relationship between financial input and cognitive growth.

It did say, though, there was a relationship between financial input and educational achievement. That is, more people were going on to college, their aspirations were improving and so on.

Of course, that is important, too, is it not?

Dr. LOHMAN. That is right. It would seem to me that what that suggests is that any effective program we come up with will, in fact, cost a lot of money. And, in fact, it will probably cost us much more money to deal with children who come from those poor backgrounds. It is going to be expensive.

But on the other side of the coin, what we are now currently doing in school practices is not very efficacious.

Senator MONDALE. My point is, if we are making people socially mobile upward through spending money, that is worth something, is it not, even though they may not be number one in their class in terms of arithmetic or reading—is that not important?

The point I am getting at is I believe there is a lot of disappointment in the money strategy, even though I am not sure how much we have really tried. But the more effective school systems in New York, and some others—there were a few years when they really socked it to them in terms of a lot of money. And I think you would have to say that at this point, in terms of cognitive achievement, it certainly was not dramatic, at best.

But in terms of school assignment, are you convinced we cannot buy their way out of it, that we can bus their way out of it into better schools? Do you think that is a dramatically superior strategy?

Dr. LOHMAN. I am sure we are all aware of the complexity of the busing issue.

NEED TO END STRATIFIED SOCIETY

But just as a general statement, given the kind of stratification that is going on in our communities, we are either going to have to undo it in the neighborhood—and we know how hard that is—or we are going to have to try and undue it in schools.

The alternative—and I think probably other people have said it to you—is that we are going to have a rigid caste society. We might as well give up talking about democracy. We might as well give up talking about equal educational opportunity. It would be more of a myth and a lie than it ever has been if we do not do something effective during the years of schooling.

Senator MONDALE. I agree. But I want to hear your argument. That is the philosophical argument, which I think is a very good one. But do you think the data demonstrates that quality integration has been a successful strategy?

Dr. LOHMAN. The sad thing about that is we do not have it.

What we have had so far to date is desegregation; that is, the mechanical moving of people.

And as I summarize in this first section, the desegregation results have been very disappointing.

Senator MONDALE. Because by and large they do not pursue an educationally sound strategy, and many times they just shuffle poor children among different schools that have a losing charter, do they not?

Dr. LOHMAN. That is right. And they do the other five things that are remaining here, the other five sections, tracking of students, the teacher-pupil expectations, the curriculum, the evaluation system, all of those forces——

Senator MONDALE. Go on within the same school?

Dr. LOHMAN. That is right. They begin to work against these youngsters. So that we are in a tough position here. That is, intellectually, we understand that the only way you are going to get equality of educational opportunity is getting those black children and white children and Puerto Rican children and all the various ethnic groups together in the same building and have some important things happening. But those things are not happening yet. So we really cannot properly evaluate quality integration—it simply is not happening on a large enough scale. I cannot give you the empirical evidence to evaluate its effects.

There is, however, some very impressive research information, small group information, small studies that are now being done that should demonstrate this to you empirically, very impressive studies. And I have mentioned just one of these in the section——

Senator MONDALE. Which one? Can you just tell us what that shows?

CHANGING EXPECTATIONS AMONG STUDENTS

Dr. LOHMAN. Very briefly, I think one of the most interesting ideas we have come up with is how you go about changing expectations among children for each other, and eventually teachers for children.

Let us suppose we are talking about a situation where the black children went to an all-black school for grades K through 6, and the white children went to an all-white school for grades K through 6. Then in the junior high school they get them together. As you might suspect—and let us put aside racial prejudice—the black child usually comes into this situation, on the average, 2 to 3 years behind in his skill development. What can a school do about that?

What we have tried in some of these studies has been to introduce an entirely new task, a whole new task which none of the children have ever done before. What we do is: We take the black children aside and have someone teach them the new task. We teach them how to build a radio set in junior high, which none of the children has ever built.

And they all learned it, by the way. We found no one unable to learn how to do it.

We then bring them back to a paired situation where we have a white child who is then introduced to the black child, and the black child teaches him the new task.

Obviously, what we are doing is changing the whole status and role relationship that black and white pupils have to each other in a typical classroom. Then, after they are through the situation where the

black child teaches the white child the new task, they then have to perform some different task, an unrelated task, that gives us a measure of the influence as to the number of ideas that black and white children would generate with each other. And when we compare these kinds of interventions to the control kinds of groups where there is no intervention, we found very, very strong impressive results.

In fact, this summer a group of us will be operating an experimental school in Oakland that will try to do it on a much larger scale and for a longer period of time. I think this is the kind of research effort that is just beginning.

Obviously, my group is not the only group. I think there are other people beginning to work at this. But it is just at the infant stages. And it is going to be several years before we can figure out how to get this into school practices. But the results encouraged us sufficiently that we really think it can be done; that you can change these expectations, and that the school can, in fact, have a powerful effect on children's development.

Problems of Tracking

To go back—let us move on then to the second section on tracking.

I think there are a number of problems that we all should be aware of with tracking. I assume at this point we are all aware of what I mean by "tracking," so I do not need to define what "tracking" is.

First of all, the means for deciding which child should go into which track tend to be quite inaccurate. There are all kinds of inaccuracies in them. And in many cases they are based much more on social characteristics then intellectual characteristics. For example, teacher recommendation is very important for deciding whether an elementary school child gets tracked into upper level classes when he goes to junior high.

If you are a student who gave your teacher a hard time and did not get along, you are not going to have a good recommendation. And that criteria alone can be sufficient justification to keep an otherwise bright child out of a high track.

The second problem is that we tend to penalize a student for his history. In other words, tracking penalizes a student for his past. Any time you have a bad year for some reason or other, then the tracking tends to take that result and place you in a low track. You get placed in a class based on your history rather than someone saying, "Hey, what is this youngster's potential? What are his possibilities? And then let us develop a school program that builds on a student's strengths."

The third thing that I think the tracking does is that it has a devastating effect on low achieving youngsters; devastating. It groups them all together and serves to label these children in the harshest fashion. Teachers, by and large, get no satisfaction from teaching these low achieving youngsters. They dread the time they are going to have to spend with those students. They are not getting anything from them, and they often give the teachers a difficult time. So it has this very, very devastating effect on low achievers.

It surprises me, actually, that results have come in that tracking for the high achieving children does not have the hoped-for results

that everyone thought it would. That is, if I hold the curriculum the same—suppose I am teaching algebra to a group of children. If you hold the curriculum the same, Algebra I, and you look at a bright youngster in the sense that he has a high IQ in a mixed class, and you see how well he achieves at the end of a year, and compare him to a youngster who is with all bright students in the same class, there is no difference—in large numbers of children, there is no difference in the achievement results.

Senator MONDALE. Why would that be?

Dr. LOHMAN. I think the main reason would be that the teachers themselves, when they are teaching the children—I think one of the reasons would be the evaluation practices used, and I will get into that when I talk about evaluation.

We have this normal curve assumption that runs in all of our minds, so that I can take a third grade teacher and give her 30 pupils, all of whom, let us say, have extremely high IQ's. I mean, everything about them indicated they were brilliant. But I just gave her the 30 pupils, "This is just a regular group of students."

Senator MONDALE. We will take a short recess here.

[Recess.]

Senator MONDALE. Please go ahead.

Dr. LOHMAN. I was explaining why these classes—where we have all bright children together, why we do not get these gains that people claim should occur in the class. And what I think it amounts to is this evaluation practice we use and the competitive nature of learning in the classroom, so that even among those bright children, some come to view themselves as quite successful, and the rest of the class, all the empirical evidence would suggest they also are quite talented, begin to see themselves in comparison to the other children and begin to say, "Gee, I am not really any good. I cannot learn this."

Senator MONDALE. They might feel better about themselves if——

Dr. LOHMAN. They might feel better about themselves if the learning were in a mixed classroom. Also, if the learning environment were not so competitive.

TRACKING PRODUCES A LEARNING CASTE

The fourth reason why tracking is a problem is that it tends to lock children at an early age into a very, very rigid learning caste, because, you know, once you get in the track it becomes very difficult institutionally—you know, if you have the five tracks, you have to keep them filled. You have the child who is doing well. If he goes up, do you eliminate a track? No institution eliminates a track. And you would be amazed, there are schools where in first grade they have five different tracks that children get placed into.

Of course, I do not have to point out to you what the effect would be on a Spanish-speaking child entering school with severe language disabilities and his chances of getting anywhere near the top tracks. So, from a very early age, tracking can lock children in quite quickly.

I think what we are finding in these desegregated schools is the overrepresentation of black and other minorities in these lower tracks. I think that is going to be unacceptable to those communities.

You are asking the black community to accept some kind of busing formula, taking their children from their neighborhood, which has a certain emotional impact. And you are convincing them that going to these all-black schools is not going to be beneficial for their children. "Come on over here to this white school that has, supposedly, this better arrangement for your children." And it turns out your children come home hating themselves, hating school. They are not participating.

I do not think we have many years to allow that kind of resegregation to go on in the schools before the black community said, "Hell, no, my child is not going to be bused if I have to put up with that."

We find, by the way, one of the most disturbing aspects of desegregated schools is a very sharp drop in the self-esteem of black youngsters. That is, when black youngsters are segregated or isolated in their own schools, by and large they live in a world that, from the white community's point of view, is defined as inferior or lacking in quality; but the children do not know that. The children growing up in an all-black school do not know that. He does not find this out until he begins applying for college or someplace else. So the children feel pretty good; they know each other; they know the ropes, and they know what is happening.

Then you take the same children and make them into a minority in an all-white school, and you find a sudden, very strong drop in self-esteem, a drop in how these children feel about themselves.

Senator MONDALE. Has that been demonstrated in studies?

Dr. LOHMAN. Yes, Jane Mercer's.

Senator MONDALE. Was that in Riverside?

Dr. LOHMAN. I do not know whether she has published it, but I think you should get in contact with her.

SENATOR MONDALE. I thought she said it went the other way. They were not doing as well and thought they were doing better.

Dr. LOHMAN. That is interesting. I will clarify her results in correspondence to you.

The third section focuses on the peer group.

EXTENT OF TRACKING IN AMERICAN SCHOOLS

Senator MONDALE. Before we get off tracking, is it your impression that tracking is rather widespread in the American school system?

Dr. LOHMAN. The evidence that I presented, which was collected, I guess, by the National Educational Association, indicated that in 1962 something like 90 percent of our high schools used some form of tracking. And in elementary schools it is slightly less, around 70 percent. But it is overwhelming.

Senator MONDALE. Is it your impression that is still the pattern in most schools?

Dr. LOHMAN. That is right.

Senator MONDALE. We had a decision here in the District of Columbia, Skelly-Wright, which prohibited tracking. I don't believe it has worked.

But that is what I am told. They call it something else.

Dr. LOHMAN. School officials, of course, have a number of ways, even though you might pass laws that there can be no tracking—if you get

away from the formal label, there are a set of informal practices that can go on that achieve the same results.

By the way, the only protection I see against it, the only way I think you could check, regardless of what a school's statement was, "We do not track," "We do track," would be to go into a sample of classrooms and collect data on the parental background of the child, his IQ, his achievement level.

Senator MONDALE. Has that been done?

Dr. LOHMAN. I do not think it has. I do not think anyone has used that as a way of—I mean, that is the model I would use for determining whether or not the school really had heterogeneous grouping. I would not rely on statements from anyone about it. Because, for example, a number of schools will say to you, "We do not track. We give students free choice, particularly in high school. We let the students choose the classes."

What they do is, they set up the classes in such a way that it is agreed that certain classes will be very, very hard and only the very bright children can get into them.

Then what you do is you allow these various cliques that exist in a school—they say, "So and so is a real pushover. Let's all get in that class." So you have the same kind of stratification beginning to take place.

What I am saying is that school officials cannot be laissez-faire about this thing. You have to be active. You have to be constantly looking at whatever is going on in your school, if in fact you are going to achieve some kind of heterogeneous distribution of students in classrooms.

Is there anything further you wanted to ask on the tracking?

Senator MONDALE. No. That is fine. Thank you.

DESEGRATED SCHOOLS OFTEN RESEGREGATED BY TRACKING

Well, if you take two schools with what you might call loser charters—and they are the poor schools—one is all white and one is all black and presumably the children from both are from lower income families. You desegregate them. You mix them up. That is the first thing. And your impression is that does not do much good?

Dr. LOHMAN. That is right. Because of social class.

Senator MONDALE. So you just mix lowers?

Dr. LOHMAN. That is right.

Senator MONDALE. But within those schools then you may have a compounding, because they have in effect charter classes there; some of those classes have winning charters and some near losers and some certain losers?

Dr. LOHMAN. That is right.

Senator MONDALE. So you probably get a stratification within the school which is just as damaging?

Dr. LOHMAN. Just further compounding, that is right.

Senator MONDALE. Many times I have seen classes where the first track was all white; the middle track was sort of mixed; but the lower track was Eskimo. And it was a sad sight. You could tell it was a waste of time.

Dr. LOHMAN. It is sad because that kind of message is communicated to the children.

Senator MONDALE. The children understand it right away.

Dr. LOHMAN. That is right.

I must tell you an amusing story of a principal in a school who realized tracking had these negative effects. He said: "I have the solution." Because he still basically believed in tracking, but he was going to overcome the labeling problem. "I am going to call Track I the Harvard Track. Track II will be the Princeton Track. And Track III will be the Dartmouth Track. That way, if they are in the Dartmouth Track, they would not know that most of the students are not going to college."

Senator MONDALE. They would never guess the children know right away?

Dr. LOHMAN. They see right through it.

That is another thing I point out in the paper. If you were to talk to school officials or to teachers about tracking, you would not hear them say any of these things, any of these negative things. They would tell you all kinds of positive intentions. They have the best of reasons for wanting to do this. And they assume that children see it that way, too, but the children do not. They do not understand the benevolence being passed on to them.

What they understand is a clear social message: "Those guys are better than I am. I am not going anywhere." That is the overriding message, not that you are trying to arrange classroom conditions that meet their personal needs. The children do not see it that way.

STRATIFICATION OF PEER GROUPS

The peer-group section—I will just move over very quickly because I think I have already mentioned to you the notion of changing expectations. But I think the thing I just want to emphasize there, not only the learning, is a social act, but the rapidity with which children seem to decide who is bright and who is dumb in the classroom, and that this tends to generalize to all subjects and all topics.

I might also add we do not know very much about this area, about how you keep that kind of situation from occurring. All we know—and we do not know, for example, if children are literally inhibited from speaking up in class because they recognize that their position in the peer group is one of a low stature.

Senator MONDALE. Is this a peer group within a class?

Dr. LOHMAN. Yes.

Senator MONDALE. They tend to socialize? Or how does a peer group get established? Is that sort of a sociological thing?

Dr. LOHMAN. Yes. The way you go about it, finding out about the degree to which this occurs, as you go into a classroom and you say to the children, "If you had to go on a camping weekend, who would be your three choices?"

And what you find is that one or two children in almost every classroom are called the sociometric stars. Everybody in the class wants to be with them. Everybody wants them. And the largest number of children are what is called "isolates." No one ever chooses them. They are often the largest category in the class.

So you have this kind of hierarchy that exists within every classroom, and it tends to go along class and race lines. That is, the higher your social class and the more white you are, the more likely you are to be chosen.

Senator MONDALE. Does that mean, in effect, children track themselves, you might say?

Dr. LOHMAN. I think they do. I think they accept the judgments and the views from the outside society, and they learn to incorporate it at a very early age.

I do not know if you are familiar with the famous doll studies done originally by Kenneth Clark and repeated over and over again, where you present a black child with a white and black doll at the age of 4 years old. What the study basically shows is that racial attitudes and expectations by race are developed at age 4 and 5, and children have clear preferences already and clear negative expectations for themselves and their race. So these things happen very, very early.

TEACHER-PUPIL EXPECTATIONS

It makes it very difficult when you are trying to deal with this issue with teachers. The teacher tends to say: "What? My second graders all love one another. No one in here feels that way. And children should not talk about those kinds of difficulties. They should wait until they are older."

If you wait until high school, when they really hate each other, there is not very much—there is very little a school can do. The time to do it is when they are 5 and 6.

On the teacher-pupil expectations section, we have a problem here in that we have identified a very powerful force, expectations. And we do not know a whole lot about it. We do not know how it works. We do not know how it gets transmitted.

We can demonstrate its effect, but we do not know how it works. And that means we do not know very much about how you go about changing it.

Basically, though, what it amounts to is that teachers or adults seem to be reacting to certain kinds of social cues given off by the child, and that the social cues form some kind of a model in their mind, hook into some kind of learning model in their mind, as to who is a potential learner and who is not.

What we think happens generally is that most teachers have an ideal learner in mind. In other words, somewhere in their thinking there is "the ideal student." Which is an absurdity. But people hold it. It is a simple way of organizing life.

So when you go into a classroom and you look at the range of children in your class, you are attuned to those children who meet your social ideal.

It just so happens that an ideal in most children is a child who is white, who is cooperative, who is pleasant, who is groomed well, who dresses well. Those kinds of social characteristics create this positive learning situation. And children who are different on these characteristics—and I keep emphasizing "social" because they do not necessarily relate in any way to a child's ability characteristics. But they become a self-fulfilling prophesy.

The other thing I think we really need to address ourselves to in that teacher-pupil expectation, because it ties into so much of what we talk about on school practices——

Senator MONDALE. All that can be affected by teacher awareness and teacher techniques, could it not? It would be better to keep it a more open, hopeful environment, would it not?

Dr. LOHMAN. Exactly.

Senator MONDALE. Are there any schools or educational institutions which have tried to deal with this problem in an effective way?

Dr. LOHMAN. Let me think about that, and I will write you if I can think of a good example.

I think most of the effort has been in the research world, and it has simply been to document it.

TEACHER AFFECTS LEARNING ENVIRONMENT

The second part I wanted to submit to you on the teacher-pupil expectation—and if you have a chance to see Frederick Wiseman's films he has done on schools——

Senator MONDALE. We saw one on the high school.

Dr. LOHMAN. You saw the one on high schools?

Senator MONDALE. Yes.

Dr. LOHMAN. One of the things that must come through to anyone that is observing the school situation is that the teacher is doing all the work. The teacher is doing all the learning. The teacher is doing all the teaching. The basic statistics—and it seems to be a surprisingly stable figure—is that teachers tend to talk 80 percent of the time in the classroom on any given day, any given period, any given grade level. It changes a little in the first grade and it changes a little bit in the 12th grade, but that is a basic finding. You can take it and see it repeated all over the country. Teachers talk 80 percent of the time.

Now, that says something important about what the learning enterprise then is all about in school. What it means is that the children that will be successful are children who can listen to the teacher, tune in to what she is saying, and can follow the orders and commands that she is giving. And it means that children who may learn in a different style—who do not communicate well with her or need to be more active—those children are not going to be learning in that kind of a learning environment. And that basic finding occurs over and over again in the schools.

I would be hard pressed to come before this committee and find you a large set of teachers or a school anywhere where the teachers talk under 50 percent of the time.

By the way, you probably heard the old maxim among administrators: The way you evaluate a teacher is how quiet the classroom is. The quieter it is, the better the learning is. I mean it has no empirical validity, but that is a shorthand administrator's way of evaluating quickly what is going on in the schools.

CONCEPT OF CURRICULUM CHANGING

The fifth section looks at curriculum, and I think it is here that we have a very interesting revolution that is just beginning to take hold in our schools that has not had its impact yet.

That is, our schools in the past have always focused on a content notion of curriculum. In other words, if you and I were to decide what children should be learning, from kindergarten through grade 12, we would be talking about content. They ought to have a little chemistry, and the other content areas. Then when you name the areas, the next thing we say is: "What facts do we want the students to know? Well, we want them to know the State capitals and the Presidents, and 3 plus 5."

What we are finding is that that notion of curriculum is no longer useful. It is no longer useful. It has lost its utility. It does not serve us today as a way of organizing schools.

The schools have not figured out what to do about it yet, but we are just now recognizing the lack of utility.

Instead, I think the researchers now are talking about the concept of intellectual development, a developmental notion of intellectual status, so that if I brought a child before you and wanted to talk to you about this child's learning, I would not say to you: "Well, Senator, here is a fellow who has had 3 years of foreign language and 4 years of science and 2 years of this."

Instead, the kind of thing I should say to you is: "He can do this level of abstract thinking. He is capable of doing inductive reasoning. He can handle this kind of logical system."

In other words, talk about a developmental notion of intellect.

Curriculum and Intellectual Development

And when you take that kind of stance, then the notion of curriculum changes, because then the question you ask that curriculum is: How does the curriculum contribute to the development of a child's intellectual capacity? That changes the whole ball game when you start thinking about it that way.

You find in our schools when we use the content orientation and fixed-curriculum orientation, that a child who has a bad year or a bad set of years in any given time is not going to make it because all the curriculum that comes after it is built on the previous curriculum. And there is no variation. There is no way, in other words, he can feel he can make up the term. You are 3 years behind. How do you make up 3 years?

This is the kind of thinking people have set up in schools.

The developmental notion would allow us to look at the status of development of where a child is at, and diagnose his learning environment according to the development that he was at on many different areas.

I do not know—is this coming through to you, as to the difference between these two ideas?

Senator Mondale. I got that 3 plus 5, yes. I have been slipping ever since.

Dr. Lohman. That puts you at a level—[Laughter.] Finally, let me just get into the last section, and maybe there are some additional questions.

Education by Testing

This is on evaluation, because this really is serious, a very, very difficult problem.

First of all, let us take IQ and standardized tests. I do not know—I have tried to understand why we do what we are doing in this country on this business. I mean we test them all the time. And when you compare our school systems to other schools, the estimates are something like three standardized tests for every child. That is 45 million tests a year, and an incredible number.

And the standardized tests have a very powerful effect on children, because what they are doing is telling you not what you know or where you are at, but telling you where you stand, what you are worth. That is what they are telling the children, and that is the meaning that they are taking from them.

The IQ test is an even more serious problem, and I would like to argue that we have got to do something about using them under the most special circumstances, and the information must be kept in only a very limited number of professional hands and never shown, because it is so misunderstood. People think that an IQ measures a person's capacity.

If I tell you that a child has a 110 IQ as opposed to a child that has a 140 IQ, you are led to believe that the 140 IQ child is somehow going to become the physician, that he can learn more, can attain a higher level of expertise than the child of 110 IQ. It is incorrect.

All that the measure tells you is the rate at which a child can learn something. The 140 IQ child will learn his addition facts a little faster than the 110 child. But the 110 child will learn those addition facts and so will the child of 90. They can learn calculus and physics.

Problems of Standardized Testing

In other words, IQ does not predict capacity. They do not know how to predict capacity until you get down to the severely retarded. So that for the largest number, I mean the bulk of the American school population, they all have the capacity to learn very complex subjects. The rate at which they learn, the conditions under which they learn, will vary.

But IQ tests—people do not understand that meaning of it. So if they want to get a fix on a child, they want to know his IQ.

You have probably heard of the severe cultural bias of the IQ test. It is a very, very serious issue in our schools. And I really think we have got to find some way to limit the abuses generated by these tests. But they are crutches. It may be that we will have to go to court to convince people to stop using them.

It is the same thing with files that are kept on children. By the time a child is in 12th grade, we have this long file that has been kept of his achievement. And it has become a sort of heavy history, this heavy academic history. What we are saying, in effect, is that this country is not going to have room for a Winston Churchill. Winston Churchill would be in a remedial reading class. He never would have made it. And that is kind of—the kind of thing that is happening with the heavy use of these standardized tests and their use to track and evaluate children.

Senator Mondale. We had a mini debate* here over the Michigan

* See Part 19A, hearing of Nov. 1, 1971.

Testing Program—I guess they do more of it than most States—between the director of the testing program and the superintendent of one of the schools, who came in and said he thought testing was bad, for several reasons, but particularly since it distorts creativity and flexibility. Everybody was teaching for the tests, and there were lots of human things that should be going on in the classroom that are not tested at all. And thus the value placed on humanity and teachers who emphasized that was greatly diminished. And he thought this should not be.

The other argument is how do we know how a school is doing? How well is it doing? Surely we began by your observation here that there is something awfully wrong with a system that permits us to say that the poor, black, Italian, or whatever, is probably not going to do as well as if you were rich, white, and Protestant.

The schools many times continue to reflect these biases.

Dr. LOHMAN. That is right.

Senator MONDALE. But how do they prove that? We prove that by the fact the children are not learning, are not able to read and write and count. And surely if it were not for tests, how would we know the predicament we find ourselves in?

Dr. LOHMAN. I think I would agree with you: That what we should address ourselves to is what are the proper uses for tests? We want the tests. It is important to test.

Now, let's talk about the IQ tests.

Senator MONDALE. In other words, I think, if it is a bad school, they might want to say the tests are bad because it would show what a lousy job they are doing.

Dr. LOHMAN. I think I spell out in my paper some of what I think are proper uses for testing.

PROBLEMS OF CURVE SCORING

Finally, the third problem is evaluation, the use of evaluation— no, there is another problem; the problem of the normal curve. Let us get at that one a little bit.

A normal curve distribution is a very accurate, very useful kind of hypothetical construct for any ability, any ability you can name that we can measure. It generally curves out into a normal curve distribution. It is useful in that sense.

Where it loses its utility is when people use it as a means of labeling the performance of children. That is, we tend to think the children who end up on the far right end, the high end of the curve, those are the children who are doing very well and are very bright. Children in the middle are quite average. Children at the bottom are quite dumb. And they apply that kind of system to our grading practices in schools. So that you have a certain number of A's, B's, C's, and D's. Not everybody can get an A. Therefore, only the 10 or 15 percent at the top should get A's, and the next 20 percent will get B's, the next 20 percent, C's, and then the D's.

The problem is that that fails to take into account that the children who are scoring at the lower end of the curve may in fact be doing quite well, may know a lot of information. That is to say, if I compare children who come out of some schools today who are supposedly D

students, their level of knowledge may be higher than children 50 or 60 years ago who came out of schools. Nonetheless, the children who came out of school 50 to 60 years ago were able to become doctors, lawyers, and have other important roles in society.

What we seem to be saying is that children who end up in the lower side of the curve are not going to have this opportunity, cannot have these oportunities, and I think it is a misunderstanding of what the normal curve is really saying, what it is communicating.

Evaluation Used as Discipline Device

Finally, evaluation as used by most teachers seems to be a device for gaining control, to regain control of students. In other words, with conversations with teachers, the No. 1 fear almost every teacher has in any classroom is, "I am going to lose control of the children. They are going to run wild, burn the school," all kinds of fantasy projections about these children getting out of control. So that so much of the evaluation we use is used as a discipline device.

The unfortunate side about that is that the meaning of this evaluation reflects on your academic performance. In other words, the teacher is using this grade of D not because he wants to say, "You are dumb," but because the child is not paying attention and is not doing what the teacher wants the child to do. He is doing something else. But impact of that D on your record is to label your academic performance. So we are having a discipline device being used to indicate performance.

Senator Mondale. Is this widely understood by the children, do you think? Because this can affect whether they get into a good college or professional school, can it not?

Dr. Lohman. I think to some degree they understand the meaning of grades in terms of the future. That I think is understood.

But I think the children get fooled by it, too. That is, the child who does continually get D's becomes convinced it is not that he just has some problem with the teacher or the classroom environment but that he is stupid, and that is why he is getting a D. In other words, they come to accept the evaluations we give them as adults.

Clearly, if we are going to change that kind of evaluation process, then the whole thing begins to hook up with one another. Then you have to talk about a classroom different from a teacher talking 80 percent of the time.

Obviously, if I am going to hold 30 children here 6 hours a day and I am going to be talking 80 percent of the time, I have to have a mighty powerful device to keep their heads focused on me, particularly when they don't know why it is in their self-interest to listen to me in the first place. And evaluation surely seems to do that.

In other words, if you begin to change the teacher role in the classroom, then you can begin to talk about different kinds of evaluation methods, because the control problems change. And then you can begin to talk about a different kind of curriculum because if you are not talking all the time, you have a different curriculum and each one of these hooks in, I think, in different ways.

Alternative Learning Programs Needed

Finally, I guess my summary statement to you would be I think at all levels, at the university level, the policy level, the school level, we must find a way to break up the monopoly of public education. It is one of the most severe and difficult monopolies to tamper with, or to find—in other words, we need to break it up in the sense we need alternative models of education. We need all kinds of alternatives. We need alternatives in terms of the learning program that is going on, the rate at which the children go through them, the mixtures of children, the age brackets in which they are learning together.

I think we need to go through a period of an enormous proliferation of different kinds of schooling experiences. And if we can do that, with the proper kind of evaluation that we have talked about, you know, tests to make sure you know what is going on—in other words, don't go haphazardly and say, "Folks, do what you want, it does not matter."

But if you keep track of the three things I mentioned—what are the achievement levels and the various success areas you are attempting to teach; what are the aspirations of the children in your program; what is the self-concept, self-image of the children in your schools—then I think you do not have to be so nervous, so worried. Some people are always worried that if we do something different, then the children are not going to learn. "Do not experiment with my children."

I think if you keep a fix on what you are trying to accomplish in the schools, then you can evaluate quite effectively almost any innovation I would propose to you.

The second thing I want to get through on the business of school reform is that there is a tendency now for us to assume that the elites in our university, the scholars in our university and the most thoughtful in Congress should be the ones who dictate the terms for changing schools. And I do not think that is going to work. I don't think that model is going to work.

Parents have a very heavy interest in public schooling, and I think we have got to find ways, within limits, to allow parents to make more and more of the choices.

Obviously, one of the limits I think should be you could never allow, as an example, the school-voucher plan to be abused. I think it would be a crime for the school-voucher plan to be used as a means of the Federal Government underwriting middle-class private schools. I mean that is precisely what large numbers of people in the country want. They do not want to have to send their children to schools with children from different backgrounds.

If the voucher plan becomes used for isolating, for consolidating further the kinds of social class configurations we are now seeing, then the voucher plan in my mind would be even worse than anything we have going on today.

So you have to have those kinds of constraints. You have to say that the distribution, you know, of pupils in your school, have to fit certain guidelines. You cannot take the sons of doctors and put them together in a school and get a $1,000 bonus from the Government because you are doing something interesting. I just think it is unfair—cruelly unfair.

Opposition to Busing

Senator Mondale. We have, as you know, a terribly explosive issue around here involving the court-ordered desegregation program. In a sense, I suppose they are trying to get around some of what you are talking about. How do you see the current conflict over desegregation and busing as bearing upon your theory of what we should be doing? What is your position on it?

Dr. Lohman. Just based on what I have read of the bill, the current bill and the particular amendments that were passed in the House on busing, I think if that amendment were ever adopted by the Senate—and I recognize the political pressures to do so—the Harris polls are clear, most of the people in this country do not want busing. And most of the people in the country do not want to pay taxes, either. It does not mean, you know, we do not pay taxes, and it does not mean we necessarily do not bus.

I think if the Congress of the United States were to say that desegregation moneys were not to go for busing, the impact on the local schools I think would be considerable, because even those communities that have achieved some kind of desegregation plan—communities like Riverside and Berkeley—they have done some closing down of schools and busing of children. But you must recognize that there are elements in all those communities that do not like it and are looking for any chance to stop it and to change it, to reverse that.

And the reason they have been able, that those communities have avoided the conflict on that issue, has been their superintendents have been able to say to those people, "Look, your property tax dollars are not going for busing. This is a Federal grant that is picking this up." People are willing to back off a little bit from this emotional issue.

But what you are going to do then is you are going to force every local community to face the court order that says you have to desegregate and then find the finances within your own budgets to pay for this, and I think it is going to create a lot of havoc and will set us back tremendously.

Consistent Desegregation Policy Essential

We need to be consistent. If we are sincere in our desire to desegregate the schools, then you are going to have to get children to different schools. And the way you get children to schools—a bus is one way. If there is not a bus, then a plane. Or you could use trains, if they were there. But the trains are not there. Buses are. So you bus them.

If you are not going to desegregate the schools and are giving up on that goal, then let us say that. Let us stop talking about desegregation, and let us go for something else.

This inconsistency of having a policy which says the law of the land is to desegregate but do not spend any money on busing—this is going to create the worst kind of conflict. The American public is going to look to Congress for the legitimacy of their actions.

If the Congress does not vote the money, the citizens are going to take their cue from Congress.

Senator Mondale. What are the central elements of the Dr. Lohman plan for equality of education in America?

Ethnic and Class Mix of Pupils Essential

Dr. Lohman. Element one would be a mixture of pupils from different social classes and different ethnic backgrounds within any reasonable geographical area. In other words, I am not talking about busing Eskimos to New York City. So it would be a good mix.

Senator Mondale. They are busing Eskimos to Chilocco, Okla. We are planing them there. Did you know that?

Dr. Lohman. No, I did not.

Senator Mondale. We had about 3,000. We bring them down for 9 months.

Dr. Lohman. I could not comment on whether that works or not.

Senator Mondale. It is a disaster.

Dr. Lohman. I know we do this a lot with the Indians. We rip them off the reservations and send them hundreds of miles away.

Senator Mondale. That is right.

Dr. Lohman. So element one is a good mix of pupils.

Senator Mondale. What kind of mix?

Dr. Lohman. I think it has got to be mixed along racial lines and social class lines.

Senator Mondale. With majority advantaged, or what?

Dr. Lohman. There is a final paper I did not talk about, sort of an appendix to my paper, on our differing patterns of school integration. Maybe it is a good time to call attention to that.

I think there are a number of viable models that we could adopt for integrated schools, for operating schools. And there is no—in other words, a majority white model is not the only model. I think that is just one model.

Community Control

That is, I think there are communities, particularly say, in the New York area, and also in the Oakland-Berkeley area, where the black and Chicano communities are now beginning to get very organized. They feel very strongly about their community.

And on the one hand, I do not think we necessarily have to have—and I do not think they are necessarily arguing they have to have special all black or all Chicano schools, but they want the control of those schools.

So I think we should have room for those kinds of community controls for schools that would be majority black and majority Chicano.

Senator Mondale. What would you call that, freedom of choice?

Dr. Lohman. That term has been used in a very unfortunate way in the past.

Senator Mondale. But I mean, if you say, well, the black community should have the right to send their children to all black schools or the Chicanos should have that right—and we recently had someone before the Indian Education Subcommittee on which I served who argued that way for Indians.

Dr. Lohman. Yes.

Senator Mondale. And then the white community said, "What we really want is community control of an all-white school." How do you distinguish between that?

Dr. Lohman. I think that the community control notion cannot be confused with an exclusive school or all-black school or all-Chicano. I think those are two different issues.

Senator MONDALE. How do you explain that?

Dr. LOHMAN. The community control issue gets at who has power in the schools. The community control issue addresses itself to, for example, the use of mini boards that look at school policy. It addresses itself to the allowing of parents to come in and give certain kinds of community programs, to socialize children according to the values you have heard from the community.

Senator MONDALE. All right. So you have a school in the suburban community that is all white. The parents say: "We moved out here. We control our schools. It is community controlled. Our value systems are being implemented as we see them. Now you want to take our children and send them somewhere else and bring in other children."

Don't those two theories have a relationship?

Dr. LOHMAN. That is right. One of the relationships is that you do not have one-way busing which, by the way, is one of the most common patterns of desegregation.

What it means is you have two-way busing. You have some white kids that come to the black school, in which maybe the emphasis is a black urban—I mean, let us suppose it has an urban emphasis in which black parents have a sizable stake and hold important power relationships in the school. Nonetheless, I think the school must be made viable and attractive to whites, to Chicanos, to the other ethnic groups.

The reality is you simply cannot have an exclusive school without the other kind of labeling process going on. You know, it just does not work. And they have to face up to that reality.

Sure, you can have your own idea, your own black school, but it is going to end up being labeled inferior, no matter what, you know, if you just look at the dominant strains in American society.

Senator MONDALE. What are the other elements in the Dr. Lohman plan?

CHANGE IN CLASS COMPOSITION NEEDED

Dr. LOHMAN. I think the other elements would be changes in composition of classes. That is, you would not have all the same age or grade children in the same class. You would do more mixing of younger children with older children, have a much more active classroom, and get those desks out of there and get children moving around, being much more of an active kind of curriculum where the teacher is not spending 80 percent of his time talking.

COMMUNITY INVOLVEMENT IN SCHOOL

It would involve also—and I did not get a chance to talk about this—it would involve bringing in more adults into the school. Our tendency has been to see the school as an isolated institution. The school closes its doors and wants to keep outside people away. And I think now we should recognize the tremendous contribution that various citizens and students can make within a school, so that the school should be a much more open—you know, it should have—I guess it should have more of the kind of feeling when you go into a department store, just lots of people moving around, lots of things taking place, and people would then kind of pick and choose the sets of activities they would go on that day. That would be more along the model of the kind of school that I would like to see us have, increasing the variety of school.

Curriculum Depends on Successful Cognitive Development

It gets back, you see, again, to that developmental notion. You can only increase the variety of the schooling experiences if you have a clear notion of cognitive development. You see, suppose your child wanted to take in fifth grade black music, African music, and pottery making, and social studies; and my child wanted to do experiments with electricity, and violin, and dance. The only way we could feel comfortable as educators about allowing this kind of variety to take place is that if, at the end of the year, we could evaluate the intellectual development and growth—separate from content—of the children going through these experiences. And as long as we had a sense that one of those courses was moving along the abstract thinking of your daughter or son, and one of those courses was moving along certain kinds of mechanical skills and other courses were moving along writing or these other basic skills, basic cognitive areas, then you can feel confident in diversifying the curriculum. We have to have that first. I think we are not there yet. We are getting closer to understanding a developmental sequence of intellect.

Forces for Reform

Senator Mondale. What are the sources of strength which might cause some of the reforms you are talking about?

Dr. Lohman. I think we have to look at in whose self-interest it is to change.

I would expect that one group would be the students themselves, and possibly teachers.

Senator Mondale. Why would it not be in the interests of teachers to have better schools?

Dr. Lohman. They want better schools, but we can all argue about what better schools are. We are talking about changing behavior. We are talking about changing the way the schools can be organized.

Senator Mondale. Do the teachers not sense many of the things you are talking about? I mean, a teacher that has to teach the lower track, you said they hated to do that because they know it is tough. Might they not be——

Let me just say this: Some people have said this, that the classroom teacher is more or less kept out of the policy aspects of education. When we train our teachers, in most of our schools, we teach them all kinds of techniques, but we do not get them in the act of the policy of education, what we are trying to do and how we are trying to do it, and the philosophy of education and the rest.

Then we get them into the classroom and they are supposed to be sort of intercommunications systems of some kind, a passive conduit from some high level to the students.

Now they must resent this and they must see failure as clearly as you have described it.

Dr. Lohman. Yes.

Senator Mondale. They are closer to it.

Dr. Lohman. That is right.

Senator Mondale. More than that, the humanity of the thing must

be more obvious to them than it would be to a statistician because they see the children's eyes turning blank.

Dr. LOHMAN. That is right.

Senator MONDALE. When I am with teachers, I sense a great deal of concern about these same issues. And if they could be a force for reform, I could see real strength there.

Dr. LOHMAN. I think you are right. And I think it would be a mistake for me to see teachers as a negative force. It is more that they are victims. They tend to be victims as much as anyone else of a system that does not allow them to do the kind of things they are—they are not professionals. That is, they are not professional; they are not allowed to be professionals in the sense that a professional has control over the area in which he is supposed to be an expert—that is, teaching.

Senator MONDALE. This also helps contribute to a low status feeling of teachers. Just as soon as there is a hot teacher, usually what happens is they pull them into administration, into the central pentagon of the school system. He is gone.

Dr. LOHMAN. Very true.

Senator MONDALE. The best sign you are a good teacher is that you can stop teaching, get out of there. And somehow we have to tap the teachers and, in my opinion, mass a vast organization for social reform. And a lot of people, like Featherstone and Silverman and so on, are really saying that where students learn is where you have those remarkable teachers that somehow can encourage not only learning but self-respect and higher aspirations and the humanity of what should be a school learning situation.

Dr. LOHMAN. I think most people feel the attempt here has been to identify master teachers and then pay them more. Most people feel that would be divisive and that would not work.

The way in which to do the kinds of things you are talking about would be to do what is called differentiating the staff. That is, certain teachers would take on additional tasks. Instead of teaching five classes a day, they would take two or three classes and then have responsibility for maybe training the younger teachers, maybe writing curriculum. Then the process of differentiation, they can be compensated more. And then you hold high ability persons in the teaching profession.

STAFF DIFFERENTIATION WOULD RETAIN BEST TEACHERS

You do not have that—I think that is what you are pointing out. The man or woman going into it—a teacher is a teacher is a teacher, kind of phenomenon. There is not this kind of differentiation you are talking about where you can have the additional responsibility and be compensated for them. You move them into the administrative realm and you remove them from contact with children, which is where many of them have their real skill; not moving papers around in the school system. Differentiating staffing, I think, would be very high on my list.

Senator MONDALE. This happens to be a fairly busy procedural day for us, so I think we will conclude here. Thank you very, very much.

Dr. LOHMAN. Thank you.

PREPARED STATEMENT OF DR. MARK R. LOHMAN

THE PRACTICE OF INEQUALITY WITHIN AMERICAN PUBLIC SCHOOLS

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INTRODUCTION: The Many Practices of Inequality in American Public Schools

The purpose of this paper will be to discuss "within school" procedures that increase or initiate inequality among large groups of students. A secondary purpose of the paper will be to recommend steps that schools could take to ameliorate practices which artificially create or increase inequality among students.

By focusing almost exclusively on the impact of formal schooling on a child's intellectual and personal development we are taking only a limited perspective of all the powerful forces that contribute to a child's overall development. For example, during the early years the contribution of heredity, social and economic status, and pre-school enrichment experiences are all powerful forces that make independent contributions to a child's development. In later years, family life, interaction with neighbors, and media (especially television) have strong additional and ongoing effects until the child leaves home for marriage, a job, the military, or college.

This paper does not attempt to parcel out and decide the precise contribution of schooling to a child's development. Instead the arguments stand on a few general assumptions about the significance of schooling in American society during the 1970's. The percentage contribution of formal schooling toward implanting the total number of facts, opinions, values, and beliefs held by a graduating high school senior has declined and will continue to decline as an independent source of knowledge. Some argue that less than half of the knowledge available to an individual person's active memory can be attributed to formal schooling alone.

On the other hand, schools have increased their influence in determining the future occupational status of a student. One can assume that as the technological advancement of American society grows more complex, future jobs will be increasingly dependent on years of schooling, type of schooling, and the prestige of the University or school granting the degree. The relationship of academic achievement to adult occupational status is a controversial finding. What is clear is that years of education are a prerequisite to entry level into more and more occupations. After the point of entry level correlations tend to break down and there is little relationship between academic achievement scores and future adult success. These two assumptions about formal schooling form a paradox. Schools account for less and less of the knowledge held by students, yet, that smaller percentage contribution is more and more important in determining the future mobility of a student.

In trying to predict the impact of schooling on academic achievement the effect seems to vary strongly with the socio-economic status of the child. In general, the wealthier child is less dependent on good or bad schooling to guarantee proper intellectual development and successful occupational positions. The poorer child is more dependent, more affected by the quality of schooling he receives. It is apparent to many educators that schooling may be the most important and only hope a child has for true success when the child comes from an environment of extreme poverty and is surrounded by adults whose education terminated before completing elementary school. Thus it is understood at the outset that schooling isn't everything in determining intellectual and personal development and yet its significance cannot be under-

estimated. As suggested above the effects of schooling are most critical for the economically poor student and students from nonwhite ethnic backgrounds. With this mandate in mind the schools must do everything within its means to insure the success of this large school population. This paper focuses on six common, significant, social events, that take place everyday in American public schools. Each of these social events has a routine and superficially harmless aspect to it. Yet each of these events can generate, increase, and maintain severe inequality among large groups of students.

The first social event discussed is the assignment of a pupil to a school. The assignment of a pupil to a given school has generally been related to a neighborhood location and distance from a school building, along with the economics of crowding. Only recently have school districts worried about pupil assignment in terms of racial balance and are just beginning to consider the implication of social class balance.

The second social event is the assignment of a pupil to a particular classroom. In elementary school this is usually a single class and one teacher; whereas in middle and high school the assignment is to a set of classes and different teachers.

Again, here is a process that occurs every year and students follow the established pattern everyday. In many school districts the assignment procedure appears arbitrary and extremely complex. More and more the indifferent hands of computers are utilized. Yet, severe inequalities can be started and maintained by these seemingly innocent and routine practices. This paper examines how this happens.

The third social event is the assignment of other pupils to a classroom and the interaction that takes place among peers within a class. Too often when educators think about learning they talk about communication between teacher, a single pupil, aided by a textbook or curriculum material. This simplistic paradigm overlooks a fundamental fact repeated over and over again for every child; learning is an extremely social act, performed and evaluated in full view of twenty-five to forty other age mates.

The next potential source of inequality produced by a major social event is the interaction that pupils have with counselors and teachers. In this context the word "expectations" looms as one of the most potent and misunderstood terms in educational practice today.

A fifth social event that cannot be overlooked is the student interaction with a curriculum. It seems strange to assert that a curriculum can lead to inequality, yet, it does every day.

Finally, the sixth social event may have the most potentially devastating impact of all - evaluation. What is said, what is written and what is permanently recorded after a child has performed an academic event looms as a critical variable in creating and maintaining inequality among pupils.

What is meant by the clause "school practices which initiate, or increase inequality among large groups of students." The school practices have already been outlined as six major social events. They do not exhaust the list of possible practices in school that bring about inequality. They were chosen because of their near universality in all American public schools and the potential power any one of the events

has on the future of thousands of students. The fact that most of these events occur almost every school day means that their negative impact is repeated throughout the year.

Inequality among students can be measured by three major outcomes of schooling. First is the measure of achievement by means of standardized tests or grades; second is the level of aspiration in the occupational and educational world desired and attained by students. Third, the self-concept the student possesses concerning the worthiness of himself as a person and his own confidence in a variety of academic skill areas must be considered. When we refer to practices leading to inequality, we mean practices that develop differences in achievement, aspirations, and self-concept among large groups of students. This report will often refer to groups of students according to three different dimensions: ethnic background, socio-economic background, and the learning style of a student.

It is understood and accepted that among any group of students, from the same family or from completely different regions, individual differences exist in ability, interest, and other personal characteristics related to learning in school. However it is assumed that these performance characteristics are distributed similarly among all large groups of children, especially among different ethnic groups. In recent years there have been challenges made to this assumption concerning equal distribution of intellectual talent, but in the absence of clearer data it would be both wise and humane to assume an equal distribution.

At this point I have simply outlined six common social events that are within-school practices which can often contribute to creating

artificial inequality among groups of students. The same measures used to detect inequality can also become the basis for defining equality of educational opportunity. The goals of educational equality, with reference to within-school practices, will be achieved when the overall group differences on achievement scores, aspirations, motivations, and self-esteem have the same distribution for all ethnic groups and social classes. These measures, then represent the basis for asserting the degree to which equality of educational opportunity exists in the public schools of American society.

CHAPTER I - PART I

Pupil Assignment to Schools

The Notion of a School Charter

In what ways does it matter to what school a child is assigned. This question has now become very troublesome throughout the society as massive desegregation bussing plans are implemented in small and large cities alike. Years ago there was very little public discussion about school boundaries. Parents either rented or bought living quarters in particular neighborhoods and from there a "natural" social geography determined school boundaries based on neighborhood schooling. Poor kids across the tracks went to their elementary school and rich kids living in the hills attended theirs. Throughout the nation blacks were isolated in their own ghettoes and schools, while whites attended their own neighborhood schools. For years, what was enforced legally in the South via a dual educational system was carried out in a "de facto" sense in the North and West.

Yet, something about school assignment matters very much to the American public. Much of the upset over bussing has to do with the racial attitudes of white parents toward blacks but there is more at stake than racial attitudes alone. New families moving into communities, particularly middle class families with the widest choice of housing, will make inquiries about the schools in general and often select their home because of a particular school in the neighborhood. Most parents don't investigate which reading series is being used in elementary school or how many college degrees the teachers have. Instead, they ask very general questions and seek out impressions of the schools from potential

neighbors, friends, or realtors. Apparently different answers can give them the information they need. What is it about the organization of public schools that becomes so important to parents.

Most of the past research on school organization does not give us many clues to explain differential parental behavior. Parents do not seem to react systematically to differences in school organization plans. Much of this research on the effectiveness of school facilities has focused on the absence or presence of certain items or qualities, such as equipment, chemistry labs, certified teachers, free textbooks. Clearly the absence of a chemistry laboratory suggests that students in that high school will miss appropriate laboratory experience. It is not a surprising finding that the absence of a course of science instruction leads to lower pupil achievement in that science area. But this grocery list approach to school facilities doesn't help us to understand in a broad and universal way how school assignment can affect the futures for large numbers of students.

Before proceeding it should be understood that issues of school finance are intertwined with the problem of school facilities and school assignment However, this paper will not discuss the inequities and problems of school finance, particularly as it applies to school districts with meager financial resources. It is assumed that there is a general need for the states and nation to at least equalize per pupil expenditures in all public schools and perhaps spend considerably more money in schools where a large percentage of children come from educationally deprived families.

For purposes of this discussion on school assignment, let us assume that facilities within a given school district are roughly similar. That

is the buildings are approximately the same age, pupils per classroom are equivalent, after-school activities are available, the teachers are properly trained, certified and paid and the textbooks are in sufficient supply along with an adequately stocked library. Under the above conditions, does pupil assignment to a given school make a difference for the future of these pupils.

John Meyer, a sociologist at Stanford University, has introduced the term "charter" as an explanatory concept describing the power of an institution to affect the future of a student. A charter is the agreed on social definition of an institution's products. For example, two students may present the same list of courses studied in college, but if one says he studied at Harvard and the other studied at a local city college then there is an assumption and expectation about different futures for these two men independent of their own endowed abilities.

The effect can also occur in elementary, junior, and senior high schools. Within certain communities given schools have "reputations" of superior students. Sometimes two or three students win National Merit competitions or the debate club frequently wins state champtionships. As a result of these awards received by a few students the entire school population receives attributes of comparatively high prestige. What is important about the charter is its ability to influence and motivate large numbers of students attending the same school.

On a local level, adults will refer to the "reputation" of a school, and students will talk about the "school spirit." A school's charter is made up of these components but it is a much broader concept. That is, the charter can influence not only attendance at social dances and football games or PTA meetings for parents but it can influence values

and plans for college, and future occupational aspirations.

Once a charter develops for a school the students come to understand that the broader social definition of the school applies to him as an individual. As a result we find in some schools 80 - 90 percent of the graduating seniors attend major universities whereas in a nearby high school (with similar facilities) 40 - 50 percent go on to college and most of them to a two year local junior college. One's immediate response is to say, but the students at those two schools must be very different in native intelligence, motivation, and family background. To some degree the above is often the case but in many studies the findings show that students with similar IQ's, social status, and achievement level have varied aspirations depending on the charter of their high school.

A charter is said to have consequences for diffuse socialization. Diffuse socialization refers to shifts in 1) values, 2) personal motivation, and 3) individual self concepts.

Schools that have highly favorable charters are in a position to broadly influence their students in the above three areas. Although academic achievement may not be directly affected by a school's charter, it is clear that there is a strong indirect or secondary affect. For example, we do not expect a school's charter to directly determine the percentage of students who will be able to effectively read and write. That question will depend much more on teacher skill and student abilities. But if the school has a charter that is understood to be one in which alumni become very successful, we would expect to find students working hard at their school tasks in order to live up to the futures expected

of the school's graduates.

An individual school's charter within a large school district often has a local meaning and a national meaning that may not coincide. For example an entire school district such as Newton, Massachusetts or Berkeley, California may have a national reputation for excellence and innovation. Yet, locally within those communities there are probably several elementary and junior high schools whose charters are not strong or positive. It is assumed that the local charter is more important to younger pupils, but the national reputation becomes more important when students attempt to compete with other students in the open market for jobs and college entrance. Schools in suburbs are thought to be generally superior to schools in cities and rural areas; this reputation may be due to a school's charter more than to its facilities.

What determines a school's charter. The answer to this question is the key to understanding the need for bussing or other means of massively shifting student composition in public schools. Primarily, the school's charter is socially determined by the larger community. The social and economic prestige of the parents who send children to the school is usually the best general index of a school's charter. It is often interesting to see how schools with strong charters will often innovate and attempt to differentiate themselves from other public schools. Then these particular characteristics are often attributed, incorrectly, with a special magic that makes the school more effective.

Thus a school with an outstanding charter may implement modular scheduling, or electives, or a double free period. If no other surrounding school has this particular innovation, much will be said about how

influential this change has been on student performance and student morale.

Unfortunately for schools with negative or absent charters, that is schools whose students are not expected to be outstanding or achieve very much, the new innovations quite often have no impact. Unless the innovation is big enough and bold enough to change the school's charter, which is rare, the definition of the school's products has not changed in the larger society. The students and teachers somehow persistently understand this and after a few months of a new innovation, business is as usual and no net effect improves the futures of the students.

The strength of a school's charter as a force for influencing the social and intellectual development becomes very important when juxtaposed to the student subculture that exists in every American public school. One of the most consistent findings about the peer culture in junior and senior high school is the low status value attributed to intellectual performance among students. More often, a school must make its impact on students in spite of an adolescent social prestige system that tends to devalue education.

If school officials and board members take seriously their mandate to educate every child to a high standard of performance, then no school system can afford to adopt a passive or laissez-faire attitude toward pupil assignment to schools. A policy of passiveness allows the inequality of our neighborhoods to be translated into unequal charters for schools. A negative school charter coupled with an adolescent subculture that does not highly value education begins to explain why so many schools have little or no positive academic impact on its pupils.

CHAPTER I - PART II

School Charter and Racial Imbalance

The most serious problems of school assignment concern racially imbalanced schools. Particularly in the inner city of most major American cities severe social pathologies are concentrated in the poverty stricken, racially isolated schools.

Schools with large nonwhite populations tend to suffer from two major problems- poverty and prejudice. There tends to be a high concentration of children who come from low income families where educational values and appropriate school behavior have not been strongly established. Poverty carries with it a host of additional problems to which schools are poorly equipped to respond: inadequate nutritional problems, poor health, lack of proper winter clothing, disorganized family and emotional life.

Prejudice and racial bigotry cannot be overlooked either. Most city school systems are operated by white teachers and administrators. Although many of these educators are hard working, fair and effective, there is an equal number who distrust and hate children that are nonwhite. As a result the school system establishes a set of negative experiences for children and is able to produce and perpetuate massive failures among poor nonwhite students.

If poverty was not so strongly associated with nonwhite ethnic background and prejudice was not so active a force, then perhaps racial imbalance would not be the problem it is today. Unfortunately we find, over and over again that racially imbalanced schools do not lead to equal educational performance among white and nonwhite students.

The concept of a school's charter can help us to understand the desirability or lack of desirability of a racially imbalanced school. Schools with high concentrations of nonwhite students and students who are poor are generally not expected to achieve much in our society. The school's charter is weak and in many cases negative. The result is that the school has little or no influence on the adolescent culture and the adult society expects very little of the future for its graduates. This process by which schools with high concentrations of nonwhite students receive low or negative academic charters from the larger white community is one manifestation of institutional racism. It should not surprise a society that creates this type of inferior labeling that the costs of change will be very high.

Shifting a School's Charter to Improve Equality of Educational Opportunity

Before a school district embarks on a plan to conduct massive bussing of its students, it should first establish academic achievement norms for the city or region in which all schools are located. Then the school district should determine which schools have mean scores or substantial numbers of children performing below the established norms. At the point at which comparatively low school achievement has been detected then the district should determine if racial imbalance exists and is associated with low achievement.

If racial imbalance does exist, the bussing plan will be a very important first step in trying to achieve a change in each school's charter and improve the academic achievement of the low performing students.

One goal of any bussing plan should be to equalize the charters of

all the schools, at least to the extent that bussing can affect a charter. Since the primary determinant of a school's charter is the social class composition of the school, it will be very important to determine a status average for the school district and then bus children in such a way as to achieve an overall rating of social status that is similar for all schools within a school district.

The social status rating of a school is the average input brought by all students in terms of their social and intellectual background. It can be calculated by knowing three things about every student: the occupation of his parents or guardian, the number of years of schooling for each parent, and the child's measured IQ.

If each of these three factors were broken into differential scales then the cumulative score would represent the social status input of each child. The sum and average of all of these totals would yield a social status ranking for any given school in a school district. Given this information a school administration could set about to utilize bussing in an effort to equalize the charters of every school in the district by equalizing the social status rating of a school's pupils.

Moving students according to a "blind" numerical plan alone could lead to large monetary expenditures and considerable political discontent within a community. Thus a list of guidelines needs to be established with any bussing plan that attempts to soften the anger felt by parents who fear too much change or fear that an administration is coldly experimenting with their children.

First, brothers and sisters should attend the same school and small neighborhoods of children should be bussed intact to the same school.

The informal connections outside of school are an important part of feeling good about school inside the building. Since friendship patterns among children tend to follow close neighborhood contact there is no reason why schools need to break up these friendship patterns by school assignment practice. In addition there is some evidence that minority parents may move into a new neighborhood based on school attendance for their child. That is, after bussing has sent their child to a school some miles away from home the parent will sometimes move to a new location such that the child does not require bussing to attend the newly assigned school. By knowing which neighborhoods are available a parent could keep the same school experience for a child and contribute to the desegregation of America's cities and suburbs. Unfortunately bussing does not always lead to positive results for students in an effort to achieve racial balance. These are some specific bussing practices which are generally undesirable and ought to be avoided.

1. One-way bussing of minorities to previous all white schools. This type of bussing puts the burden of dislocation on the minority community. It tends to stigmatize the minority groups as they arrive at schools together on buses whereas the white children can walk and ride to school. One-way bussing calls attention to the fact that substantial numbers of nonwhite children are being suddenly thrust upon the school population.

One-way bussing tends to break up the minority community and divide its integrity and strength. In many ways the minority student and parent needs the supportive strength of an active community more than middle class and high status whites. In addition one-way bussing tends to

discourage minority student participation in after school activities. After school activities are crucial determinants of status among adolescents in junior and senior high schools. One-way bussing can often discourage or prevent minority student participation in the adolescent status structure.

2. Bussing of lower class blacks to schools predominated by lower or working class whites. There is considerable evidence that racial attitudes are most prejudicial and rigid among working class whites. Blacks bussed to schools with working class whites will face much more racial abuse, particularly in majority white schools. In addition, the charter of a working class school is not strong and introducing a substantial portion of blacks might only weaken the school's charter.

Unfortunately the above option is usually the most available and cheapest bussing solution for city school districts. Schools that engage in this type of bussing will be disappointed with the achievement payoff in relation to dollars spent.

The discussion on equalizing school charters by determining the status contribution of each child and then the status average of each school leads to some interesting policy implications. It suggests that under certain ideal conditions a school with a majority of nonwhite pupils could exist within a school system that tended to be majority white. It would depend heavily on the status average of the nonwhite students.

Secondly it suggests that school districts that bus only to achieve a fixed formula of racial balance may create many schools whose status average is similar to or below the segregated schools. In these cases

the charter of the school will not change, the achievement patterns will not change, and much money will have been wasted on unnecessary transportation.

Impact of Desegregation on Students

Does desegregation improve the academic achievement of minority youngsters. There is no single or conclusive trend that can be given to support or reject the above question. But there are several qualifying statements to be made. To try and answer the above questions intelligently we must start with some base line data.

If you compare large groups of minority children (black, Mexican-American, Puerto Rican, and American Indian) with white children, you will find that the mean scores on achievement differ by approximately one half year upon entry into first grade and then these differences accumulate over time such that by twelfth grade the mean difference in achievement is three and one quarter years. The effect is even greater if dropouts are included in the sample.

One finding appears and is often overlooked in all of the desegregation studies. No major study of desegregation can point to a major sample of nonwhite students that have achieved an equal distribution of performance scores with their white counterparts. The feeling among researchers is not one of pessimism however. The dominant feeling is that in large part we don't know how to achieve equal performance score distribution yet. Schools under all conditions are not very effective with minority youngsters. There is much we are beginning to learn about pre-school enrichment and how to maximize development throughout a child's developing years. But the research has just started and will take many

years to yield strong results and more years to become common practice in the schools.

Thus the argument today is whether desegregation shows any improvement at all compared to segregated schooling. In some ways the argument is academic. It is a fight over a few decimals that still have little impact for minority children. However the fight is not unimportant. Equality of educational opportunity does not exist under any racial balance formula in any major school system in the United States. Although desegregation studies, to date, give ambiguous results for improvement, the future of this country rests with a quality integrated school system.

If we follow the previous arguments about a school's charter and the status problem among black and whites then two things follow. In general, a charter can best be equalized by integrated schools with particular attention to social status balance, and the status problem among blacks and whites has the potential of best being solved when both parties attend school together. However, a red warning flag is needed. Most desegregated schools are doing nothing to improve the status situation and those that use tracking probably do more harm than segregated schools.

Today, there is some exciting research going on that is trying to directly change the status relationship among blacks and whites in integrated school settings. This type of intervention research will be described later. The meaning of such research is clear. The mechanical mixing of children from different racial and social class backgrounds does not guarantee any improvement at all for minority youngsters. Desegregated schools may be a necessary condition for equality of educational opportunity but it is far from a sufficient condition.

CHAPTER II

Pupil Assignment to Class

The use of various tracking systems in junior and senior high schools probably represents the American public schools' greatest contribution to creating artificial inequalities among students.

Two types of tracking systems are widely used, sometimes separately or in combination. One is a quasi-voluntary system of allowing students, with guidance, to choose one of three curriculums: vocational, general, or college preparatory. The second type, used more frequently in city school systems, is a series of stratified lanes A, B, C, D and so forth. The number of lanes vary although 3 - 5 is most common. The titles of the lanes often vary. Some schools use various academic titles: gifted, accelerated, above average, slow; others use letters or numbers. Often school systems keep their tracking system under cover. They don't formally recognize that tracking is taking place.

How are students assigned to various tracks? Generally counselors make this decision upon a student's entry into junior or senior high school. There appear to be four salient factors in the counselor's decision: IQ measures, achievement test scores, previous teacher recommendation, and social status of the parent. A critical aspect of how the school uses this information is to recognize that a high score on any one of the factors is often not sufficient for a pupil to be placed in the high tracks. Students with high IQ's but low performance in school are often kept out of the high tracks, or high performing students that do not have teacher recommendations can be left out. The point is that the counselors have considerable personal

latitude in deciding and defending who ends up in the high tracks. This high degree of personal latitude often works strongly against students from lower economic classes or from non-white backgrounds. A student from a lower class background, unless he happens to be an exceptional child, is usually weak in one or two of the factors mentioned for placement in the high tracks. Thus it is not surprising to find that schools which have desegregated on a district wide basis become rapidly re-segregated within the school building by virtue of tracking. The resegregation tends to follow social class and ethnic guidelines.

Each of the four factors used for placing students in tracks can be challenged as a basis for accurately assessing a student's academic potential. The use of IQ scores tends to discriminate unfairly against black children and other non-white populations who have difficulty using a standardized English language. Particularly children from Spanish speaking families are likely to be hurt by the use of IQ tests as a decision making instrument. The decision about a child's future, although involving perhaps evidence from four or five different factors, tends to be made on a single dimension of performance, at best a double dimension: language and mathematics skill. Although a number of scholars and educators have made persuasive arguments calling for the introduction of broader assessment practices to include measures of other abilities (i.e., nonverbal, oral, aesthetic, logic, mechanical) these requests have not been adopted by the schools. The schools however feel that they are prisoners to demands from the universities and Federal and State Governments that recognize math and verbal scores as the only legitimate measures of school performance. Achievement test scores suffer from the fact that they are a very limited assessment of the total

knowledge possessed by a student. The tests tend to penalize a student for his history rather than serve as encouragement for his advancement.

Previous teacher recommendations, particularly from elementary schools, tend to discuss the student's docility and cooperation rather than accurately assess his intellectual skill. Since the relationships between minority youngsters and white teachers are only occasionally strong and positive, non-white students are not likely to be among the teachers' favorite pupils. Lower class children are more likely to engage in physical acts of aggression and once again their social behavior and willingness to conform to middle class norms tend to be less frequent. Educators might agree that a more appropriate behavior needs to be learned for school but these social and emotional factors should have a negligible weight when teachers assess a child's achievement level capacity. However, in the case of tracking and teacher recommendations based on good behavior, attitude, conformity, and discipline are crucial.

It may seem surprising that parent social status would enter into a decision about academic tracking. Yet it does. First, there are subtle practices of teachers and counselors to push upper middle class children harder. This is accomplished by using the euphemism "under-achiever" or "late bloomer". These are children for whom some evidence is available (an above average IQ, or parent occupation as a professional) that justifies placing these children in a higher level track than current achievement scores would suggest as appropriate.

What are the student's perceptions of tracking? Do the students see tracking as a benign judgment of educators who want to maximize their learning by proper match of student group and curriculum?

Probably, many students don't think much about tracking one way or another and are not aware of the future consequences, depending on their track location. However the largest number of students know, perhaps too well, what their position in a track means. To a student tracking is the school's formal way of saying how bright he is generally. The headings take three major categories; bright, average, stupid. Students will talk openly about being placed in "dummy" English. Given this type of informal labeling and the negative attitudes associated with the label, it is not unusual to find that the individual attention offered by the special remedial classes will make little impact on achievement.

Students are very sensitive to the labels applied to them and they take such labels very seriously. It is interesting that public schools generally bend over backwards to prevent students from being unduly influenced by controversial speakers. Yet, nothing could be more controversial or powerful than the school's ability to persuade a student how intelligent he is, what his capabilities are, and what future he may consider. Grouping has the dangerous potential of forming an iron cast around a child's potential to grow.

It is important to review briefly the modern historical origins of grouping to see why and under what conditions grouping was undertaken. During the early part of the twentieth century when IQ tests were introduced and flourished there was widespread use of grouping on the assumption that intellect could now be measured and children placed scientifically in appropriate classrooms.

With time this view was challenged and school reformers pointed to the

essential undemocratic practice underlying ability grouping. As a result by 1950 less than 33 percent of a large sample of school districts used any form of grouping.

The event of Sputnik shook American public schools. Critics claimed the curriculum had become frivolous and not sufficiently challenging to produce the mathematicians, scientists, and engineers required in a competitive, technological world. In an effort to produce a technical elite, the schools responded quickly and overwhelmingly by adopting grouping and tracking practices. In 1962, 77 percent of the elementary districts were using some form of tracking and 90 percent of the secondary schools had adopted it. Today societal conditions have changed but the schools have been slow to respond. We no longer talk about a technological gap with the Soviet Union and given the severe cutbacks in the economy in recent years a sudden over supply of Ph.D.'s has appeared in the sciences, humanities, and social sciences. The most pressing problems facing American society are not so much insufficient technology but the appropriate use of technology and the ability of our society to continually adapt to rapid technological change. Thus the original motivation for grouping no longer exists.

Among educators a different set of facts were collected during the sixties concerning the effects of tracking. Innumerable studies were done under a variety of conditions with little theoretical guidance that can easily tie the studies together. One type of finding appears to be repeated in most of the studies. Bright students as measured by IQ do not learn any more efficiently nor do they achieve higher when placed in heterogeneous classes as opposed to homogeneous classes. That is, if you hold the curriculum exposure constant, bright students do not gain in achievement by being placed

in special tracks. Yet, in spite of this finding and the earlier argument that the original societal justification for tracking no longer exists, there is little evidence that most public schools are dismantling their elaborate tracking systems. Perhaps other reasons, non-educational ones, can better explain the persistance of this outmoded practice.

When you look at tracking from a national perspective and see the degree to which lower class and lower middle class students fill the bottom rungs of any tracking system, the educational justification appears to be a (rationalization) for a political power play. If the amount of education is the crucial determinant in a young person's future status, then it is very important for middle class and upper middle class parents to maintain this advantage for their children and the collective result of these individual acts is a class maintenance of position and power. Like the economic market place where every citizen is supposed to have a fair opportunity to succeed, schools try to give the impression of impartiality toward children of different social classes. Every child had a chance to succeed in school the teachers will say and all have an equal chance of being in the top groups. However the few children who work hard and produce deserve to be rewarded for their efforts and thus tracking and grouping by ability are introduced. But when you begin to understand the hundreds of subtle ways in which schooling is rigged so that the middle class child is continuously the winner in these competitive educational games, then the caste functions and power maintenance features of educational grouping and tracking take on serious societal implications.

Who is hurt the most by grouping? Increasingly there is evidence that students in the lower tracks are severely hurt, not only in terms of achievement

and future aspiration, but in attitudes, self-esteem, and motivation. Most of the studies supporting these conclusions were completed before massive desegregation had been established in our public schools. With the massive desegregation taking place, evidence will accumulate very fast as to who tends to hold the low ranks in any tracking system. Non-whites and poor students will tend to be in low tracks regardless of when tracking is instituted. If the school starts grouping in kindergarten, then the advantages of middle class enrichment in family life will be crucial in group placement. If the school waits until late elementary or high school then the differential effects of neighborhood schooling tend to take their toll. Children who live in and attend low socio-economic schools will have poor achievement records when compared to middle class peers. Once again non-white and poor children will be the greatest losers in any type of tracking system.

The promoters of various schemes for tracking did not consciously intend for its use to generate rigid inequality. Proponents of tracking saw this method as the best approximation schools could make toward individualization of the curriculum. Teach the child at his own level seemed a more rational and sensible way of organizing students. Allow students to compete against peers of their own ability level. Let different students progress at different rates through the curriculum.

In addition to the benefits that students were to receive from tracking, the teachers found many aspects to their liking. "Tracking makes instruction easier," "facilitates curriculum planning and results in better teaching," are the most common types of favorable responses from teachers. Teachers not only tend to like tracking and grouping but they also strongly prefer teaching the average or above average classes. Few teachers prefer to work with slow

students and most loathe the time spent with low achieving students. This attitude among teachers toward students of poverty or students who are slow in grasping new information is unfortunate. It is precisely these students -- black and Puerto Rican students in our cities' ghettos, the Mexican-American child of the southwest, the poor-white child of Appalachia -- who need the enrichment and formal instruction of schooling the most. On the other hand, more and more evidence is accumulating that large groups of children from middle and upper-middle class families do not need nor prosper from formal education as currently organized. The current experiments and reforms taking place in England based on the concepts of informal schooling, learning centers, and creative play could be extended to American schooling.

The overall situation in schools today leads to a curious paradox. The students whom teachers enjoy teaching the most need these teachers the least and over the years many develop considerable alienation from a teacher dominated process of formal schooling. The students whom teachers enjoy teaching least and are often rejected as unworthy of education, need close contact with teachers and increased amounts of formal education.

The labeling process that affects students negatively in tracking and grouping can also occur in the type of curriculum chosen or the designation of specialized schools such as technical schools. Different curriculum labels such as general, business, technical all have implicit inferiority labels attached to them. Rather than opening doors and creating avenues for students who are not interested in an intellectual career, these curriculum turn out to be social stratification mechanisms for society at large. Among teachers and educators there is but one curriculum (the college prep curriculum) that is viewed as being legitimate and society responds by increasing the opportunity

and mobility of students in this curriculum plan as compared to any other.

Our public schools must address themselves to two very important questions concerning the formal and informal stratification of students. Do public schools at the primary and secondary level have the right to stratify students by some measure of ability and thus determine their life chances for success? Secondly, if the answer is "yes" then what is the public schools' obligation with respect to the over-representation of children from low income families and non-white ethnic backgrounds in the lower stratification rungs of our public school system?

My response to the first question as an educator is to say "no". The problem of stratification is a much broader societal and political problem. It is an area that public schools should be much more sensitive to than they are. The school has two broad obligations to society. One would be to maximize the intellectual and skill development of every child. The second would be to continuously respond to the basic democratic value of providing equal educational opportunity for all students. If the schools carry out their functions, then other societal institutions can struggle with a just distribution of income and status according to skill performance. If the above two premises are accepted then it follows that public schools, by tracking or using other means to label students according to a limited measure of ability, are not protecting either the democratic nor the intellectual rights of students.

A final warning on the assignment of pupils to a classroom. Some schools have moved to the innovative practice of allowing students to choose their own classes and teachers at the secondary level. There is much to be praised in this mechanism of giving students some choice over their proposed teachers

and courses. However self-selection methods can also result in serious inequalities among students. Students do not always know their own best interests and may be persuaded by faulty rumor or logic to enter classes that will produce negative consequences for them.

Since students often run in cliques it may be that cliques notorious for behavior problems and negative attitudes toward learning will all attempt to sign up in similar classes. Damage is then done to both the cliques that remain mired in their own group destructiveness and to other innocent pupils who register in the same classes.

The main point for school officials is that equality of educational opportunity and maximizing a child's skill and intellectual growth are not events that will naturally occur by free market choices. These two mandates require considerable affirmative action by school officials in order to overcome the initial limitations of heredity and social-environmental conditions. To do less will only result in a rigidly constructed caste society in which accidents of birth will determine a child's future in our society.

CHAPTER III

The effect of peer groups on pupil performance.

This chapter looks at the behavior of students and asks the broad question, in what ways do students generate and maintain inequality among themselves?

Chapter one describes an institutional effect that has been labeled as the school's charter. A school's charter establishes a particular climate among the participants in the school and this in turn affects their aspirations and academic values. The argument made in chapter one suggests that a school's charter tends to reflect the social status postions of the students' parents, the higher the social class the more favorable the charter. This argument now needs to be expanded and complicated because there is an independent effect created by the peer groups themselves.

The effect of high school peer groups on college aspirations is not inconsistent with the social class influence of their parents or school charter. Two investigators, Campbell and Alexander, discovered a very interesting effect that to some degree was independent of the social status of the school. They found that even in schools predominated by students from low socio-economic backgrounds, some students, not the majority, made plans to attend college. They also found that an excellent prediction of whether or not a given student planned to attend college could be made if you knew the plans of that student's best friends. If a clear majority of a student's best friends planned to attend college, then there was a high

probability that a given student would plan to attend college too.

The relationship between a student and his peers sounds simple and follows a common sense logic. In junior and senior high schools, students belong to small collective groups called cliques. The particular clique a student is in develops a shared set of values and attitudes about school and future plans. In a school with the majority of students from high status backgrounds, there is a high probability that students from low status backgrounds will have high status friends. In schools that are predominantly filled with students from a low status background, the probability for having any high status friends diminishes sharply.

The importance of friendship cliques relates to the influence of different parental backgrounds on students. Students tend to bring to school the values and attitudes of their parents as reflected by their parents' status. What emerges are two distinct forces influencing a student's values and aspirations: the school's charter and the clique or peer pressure.

The Campbell and Alexander study is a good example of the result that liberals throught would apply to the desegregation of schools. In the early sixties it was widely believed that desegregated schools would automatically show marked increases in aspirations and achievement for black pupils. The results of the integration studies conducted in the late sixties have not supported this assumption.

Chapter two has suggested one powerful practice that negates the hoped for beneficial results of desegregation, the use of tracking. To the degree that Blacks, Chicanos, and other non-white groups are placed disproportionately

in the lower tracks within desegregated schools (in effect, resegregated), then no improvement in the overall performance of these ethnic groups can be expected.

Chapter three now suggests an additional factor. If non-whites from low income backgrounds are desegregated into a middle class school and the cliques form such that racial separation and resegregation occurs along both racial and class dimensions, then once again the effects of desegregation will be minimal. The results are minimal because blacks and whites are isolated socially from one another and the process of interpersonal influence is not taking place to any large extent in the desegregated schools.

Considerable documentation has been done on the formation of a powerful adolescent sub-culture that operates independent of the formal organization of the school. That is, students evaluate each other by their own norms and codes and reward each other for special types of behavior. Peer groups, cliques, and status orderings all exist among elementary students but the effects do not appear to be as powerful or irreversible as they are during the later school years. For this reason the chapter will focus on the teen age years of adolescent influence.

Coleman and Gordon in separate studies done in the 1950's showed the close connection between the informal arrangements of the school (extra-curricular activities) and the maintenance of a social status system among peer groups. Both authors suggested, but never demonstrated empirically that the social status system among adolescents spills over into the classroom. Although all extra-curricular activities are monitored or guided by

teachers, the setting is much more relaxed and personal than in the classroom so informal friendship ties may be established during this time that cannot ordinarily be formed within the formal restrictions of the classroom.

Who gets into extra-curricular activities? Is it simply a free choice situation where anyone can join? In this area both cliques and cultural differences among students may be crucial. The argument here is speculative but is worth considering. Specific cliques usually dominate different school activities and make clear signals that outsiders are not wanted. The athletic teams, school newspaper, yearbook, chorus, science clubs, student government, cheerleaders, band, drill team and drama club would be the kind of organizations that are often small and sufficiently cohesive to establish this type of closed society.

But cliques are not the only problem. Minority groups that are in desegregated schools may have a set of cultural preferences in music, plays, writing, styles of leadership and group interaction that are foreign and uncomfortable to a majority white culture. Thus from the point of view of the minority child, the extra-curricular activities may reflect a long tradition of white dominated activities which he finds repugnant to be involved with. In the absence of affirmative action, the minority students don't participate, are described as apathetic by teachers, and do not form the informal personal relationships with white students.

Peer group influence on individual student performance in the classroom may be a powerful force and yet its contribution to inequality is least understood. Within a school most learning and the demonstration of what one has learned takes place in the classroom. Most models of learning discuss

the process in terms of a paradigm that includes a teacher, a pupil, and a stimulus item (often a textbook). These discussions then focus on the motivation of the pupil, his prior experiences with the stimulus, the style of the teacher in presentation, and the organization of the stimulus events to be presented. The above model has made its contribution and clearly has a place in any discussion about learning. But there is a piece missing in this learning model. What is so often overlooked turns out to be fundamental to the learning situation in school. Almost every learning performance is viewed by at least thirty other students. Learning in school is not a private act between teacher, pupil and textbook. Almost the entire learning process in schools is mediated by a group of same age peers. Not infrequently, each time a child performs he is evaluated formally by a very powerful person, a teacher and informally by a powerful group, his peers. The evaluation can take many forms which will be discussed in some detail in the sixth chapter. For purposes of this discussion it is essential to point out that the evaluations are generally public knowledge, public to the other thirty age mates in the classroom.

One consequence of this evaluation process constantly taking place is that children form very quickly, with approval from the teacher, a learning hierarchy of assumed abilities. A person can walk into almost any classroom in the United States at any grade level above third grade and ask the children to rank order the other students in the classroom according to who they think is the smartest and who is the dumbest. If one does this, several results occur. The children are in high agreement, not in precise ranking, but in general ranking, and the rank orders do not

change very much from the beginning of the school year toward the end.

A critic might argue at this point, what is shocking about that? Surely you understand that children differ in their abilities and are these individual differences to be hidden in a classroom of thirty students? That individual differences in ability among students exist is not a controversial finding. The controversy occurs when we observe the rigidity of the process, the almost irreversibility of position once the school year has started. Questions are raised when children of minority groups overwhelmingly are ranked near the bottom of their class. Finally, controversy occurs when we find that the general rating of a child's intelligence diffuses into every subject area the child pursues.

The concept of general intelligence has been widely attacked and current research focuses on five to one hundred and twenty separate factors comprising intelligence. Many of these factors are not highly intercorrelated. For example creativity is generally viewed as having a low correlation with the ability to memorize information. Thus if the curriculum and tasks of a school were varied, we would find that for different subject material, different children emerged as superior in performance. In addition, if different tasks allowed different children to perform in a superior fashion, then children would be confused by the question as to how to rank order the smartness of peers in their class. Instead, it is clear that a very different message is being received by the students. One message is that smart kids do well at everything and the second message is that the curriculum of school requires the same few abilities in every subject.

Chapter III

An extreme example of the uniformity of curriculum took place in several junior high schools that I have visited. The physical education coaches were under pressure to make P.E. a more academic subject. After all, why have physical education in school if it is not academic? As a result the coaches attempted to make up a series of true/false tests and completion answers involving the intricacies of rules and regulations for various sports. How wide are the lanes in a tennis court? Is it true that when an offensive penalty has been called in football only the defensive captain can accept the penalty? These tests were given at desegregated schools and it should not be surprising that many of the black students who for years had dominated the athletic performances in the school were now receiving D's and F's in physical education. Unfortunately, their interest in memorizing petty facts was low.

The problems with curriculum and inequality are explored in chapter five in greater detail. However, the curriculum example above points out, in the extreme, a type of uniformity that can exist in a school. It suggests that as the academic performances of students become public knowledge in one class, peer groups have a basis for establishing a rigid academic hierarchy that diffuses to all subjects.

One of the areas in which more knowledge is needed is the methods that individual students and cliques use to maintain their academic status positions in the classroom. It is clear that teacher expectations and behavior, tracking, grouping, and constant evaluation does most of the work in maintaining an academic hierarchy. But it is probably true that students contribute to this process of maintaining a rigid academic hierarchy by informal methods and means.

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Chapter III

The need in our public schools is not only to understand more about the methods peers use to establish a learning hierarchy but to find ways of changing this rigid process. The proposition advanced by this section is as follows: changes in the academic performance of any group of low status students will require changes in the academic expectations of high status students toward the low performing students. The ability to change peer group expectations is not the only force that maintains a rigid academic hierarchy. Institutional organization practices, teachers, parents, and community each play their part. But it is now understood that peer groups cannot be left out of any learning model designed to improve the performance of low achieving students.

How does an educator go about changing the expectations of peer groups for one another? Elizabeth Cohen of Stanford University and her associates have been working on this problem for more than four years and her innovative research work shows clear signs that powerful interventions can be designed to change the expectations and behavior of low and high status students in a variety of task situations.

In Cohen's research situation she works with black and white junior high school students. Her baseline findings, supported by many other earlier and separate research investigations, showed that when balck and white students, same age and school grade, work together for the first time on a new task; the white students will tend to dominate the task functions in two-thirds of the groups. Less than one-fifth of the group are generally dominated by black students and the remaining fifteen percent of the groups show some type of shared power between blacks and whites.

Chapter III

Given this baseline data of white domination in task-oriented group settings, Cohen and her research associates set out to alter the expectations and behavior of black and white students while working together. The basic principles of the interventions are simple to state but more difficult to design. First, a unique and valued task must be introduced that students have never performed. Then, the low status students (in this research study, black students) are taught the new task first by older role models. Then the low status students are paired with high status students (in this research study, white students). Now the black students take on the role of teacher and teach the white students the new task. In order to check the effectiveness of this intervention an entirely new group task is introduced, blacks and whites are brought together to work co-operatively, and measures are taken to see if performances and influence are distributed equally among a large number of black and white task-oriented groups.

The results to date of this research, in which this author has been an associate since 1967, are very promising. This summer a research staff directed by Cohen, Lohman, Roper, and Katz will operate an integration training center in Oakland, California to test further the durability and power of a series of interventions in school-type situations (240 students, 10 classrooms, 10 teachers, 10 community parents as instructional aides).

If this work continues to be successful the researchers are confident that rigid, peer group, academic status orderings based on race, sex, or social class can be effectively broken up and changed to a more equal status arrangement. The empirical support for this assertion will be tested in the summer of 1972.

CHAPTER IV

Teacher Interactions With Students

The heart of the teaching process is the interaction between a teacher and pupil. Much has been written about teachers and teaching variables yet there is a surprising paucity of information analysing teaching practices that lead to inequality among students. In the previous chapters we have already discussed some processes that teachers engage in which lead to inequality.

For example, teachers have varying attitudes toward classes of differing ability levels and ethnic compositions. The largest number of teachers prefer a large percentage of white students with average or above average ability levels. Few teachers prefer a large percentage of minority students or students labeled as low ability. Unfortunately, a combination of these two undesirable conditions (low ability minority students) occur frequently in desegregated and racially imbalanced schools. The significance of this data is that each September many minority pupils walk into a classroom where the teachers have a negative feeling about teaching the entire class.

The term "expectations" has gained immense popularity as a means of describing a powerful communication process between teachers and pupil. One of the best known and misleading studies done on this process was the famous "Pygmalion" study done by Rosenthal and Jacobson. They reported that by an undocumented chain of events, positive teacher expectations over the duration of a year increased IQ scores significantly. This

conclusion has been largely discredited on the basis of faulty statistics and research. Further studies aimed at replicating Rosenthal's work have failed to show the changes he reported.

However the general phenomenon of expectations has been well established in a series of ingenious experiments conducted at the Sociology Department of Stanford University. In these studies a person's influence and behavior on a series of ambiguous tasks is directly affected by the state of expectations he perceives for himself on the given task. The studies show that persons who believed they were of high ability were more influential in decision making than a similar person with low expectations for his own ability. These expectations were not based on real differences but were manipulated for persons of similar backgrounds to convince them of differences between them and a partner.

As a result of these studies at Stanford and elsewhere educators are strongly convinced that expectations are powerful forces for influencing student behavior. Research is still needed to demonstrate how expectations are communicated in the classroom and what pupil behaviors are most affected by the expectation process.

An early point at which expectations have a strong impact are in the teacher reactions to kindergarten students. Quite often schools will have a morning and afternoon group meeting in which one session is labeled more advanced than the other. Some schools consciously begin tracking or grouping at that age. Based on the amount of a child's preschool experiences, parental background, and occasional diagnostic testing for "maturity" the child in an advanced class or average class or slow maturing class for kindergarten.

Chapter IV

Rist carried out a powerful case study on the effect of expectations in an 98%-black school within a major city. Children were labeled and grouped during their kindergarten experience and the author examined the information used to determine placement.

> It should be noted that not one of these four sources of information to the teacher was related directly to the academic potential of the incoming kindergarten child. Rather, they concerned various types of social information revealing such facts as the financial status of certain families, medical care of the child, presence or absence of a telephone in the home.

As pointed out by the Rist investigation much of the placement of a pupil into groups or sessions at first entry to school is based on social, psychological, and economic measures. The school has only sparse information about the intellectual development of the child and as a result children are placed in learning categories by means of non-learning instruments.

The result is that by the end of kindergarten the teacher's expectations and initial ratings have become converted into recommendations to the first grade teacher for learning readiness. To the degree that the first grade teacher shares the kindergarten teacher's evaluations, she places children in differential groups and often labels the groups according to her estimate of their academic ability. By the end of first grade these groups, based on differential instruction and treatment, are all achieving at different levels. Thus the recommendations for tracking and future grouping now have become legitimated as achievement scores. This process which once began as a series of informal psychological and social judgments has now been converted into different achievement levels which in the teachers' minds justify the tracking. It is indeed a vicious circle.

Chapter IV

The impact on minority children and poor children is severe. Teachers expect less of them intellectually and teachers often report their behavior is inappropriate for schooling. Thus these children are rated immature compared to the middle class child.

What needs to be understood is that the rate and stages of the development process, both intellectually and emotionally, differ among children. For example, consider reading. Some children through a lack of interest or other circumstances may not take to reading at ages 5, 6, and 7. Rather around 8 or 9 they might develop their initial skill and proficiency. In the United States a child who waits that long to begin reading may be subjected to all types of assault on his self-confidence. He may be judged as retarded, he may be grouped and labeled as slow, and during reading time, if there is nothing else to do, he may become a behavior problem.

We now know from studying other industrial cultures where children begin reading at a later age, that this has no predictive value over a child's future reading ability. But in the United States there is seemingly no room for alternative growth patterns without someone labeling the child as deficient.

The research literature is filled with reports about teacher bias against lower class children in general and against minority children, almost regardless of their social class origins. Why does this happen so much? What accounts for the uniformity among teacher attitudes? One problem is the public nature of teaching. There are heavy pressures throughout the teacher training period, entry into job and finally gaining of tenure that reduce surviving teachers to a narrow range

of attitudes and values. During the teacher training period, prospective teachers who don't look like or act like a certain "ideal" type are generally screened out of the programs.

The hiring process, except in times of short supply, have generally avoided teachers who are unusual in any important personality dimension. Particularly during the non-tenured years it is essential for a teacher to please his principal. He or she must be a nice guy, must not rock the boat, must not ask for too much, and must stay within the established curriculum. Deviants in terms of teaching style are regularly purged from the school system.

One way of thinking about teacher effectiveness is to consider this proposition. Each teacher, will tend to like or prefer about five or six students more than the other students in their classroom. The bias is not always obvious, although particularly in elementary school, teachers have not been afraid to display their "pets" publicly. Teacher preference for certain pupils is a reaction to particular personality features of their students.

Ordinarily teachers carry with them a well concealed "ideal type" of student in their minds. When characteristics in the pupil reflect their hidden "ideal", the reaction of warmth and approval, although subtle, is freely given. No matter how much talk there is about professional distance and being fair to all students, the teacher can't do all that much about biases. These attitudes tend to be fixed almost permanently in all of us.

One protection for the students is to find a teaching staff that

reacts very differently to different personality configurations. That means hire and train teachers who differ in significant ways from each other. And that means doing something very different from what happens in teacher training and school hiring today.

The tradition in our public schools has been to keep non-professionals outside of the classroom. As a result student contact with adults during school is not only limited to a select few professional teachers but in elementary school a single teacher may be the only adult that children deal with for any extended period of time at school. If we recognize that most teachers are only effective with a minority percentage of students, then one suggestion is clear -- students from different backgrounds need relationships with many different adults, also from different backgrounds. Further, I contend that this contact can start at a very early age. The need of young children to have only one exclusive contact with an adult has never been empirically demonstrated. What has been supported to some degree is the need for consistent relationships. That is, a learning relationship can take place between an adult and a young child if a consistent pattern of interaction can be established. This suggests that teachers or other adults could work with the class for an hour each day and form satisfactory learning relationships. Once schools, particularly elementary schools, begin allowing other adults (including non-professionals) to have contact with the students, a new area of research will develop concerning conditions that encourage and facilitate learning under the guidance of many different adults.

A brief example may clarify this issue of expanding student learning relationships with adults who differ markedly from the teacher or professional

norm. In one of my own research projects I was pre-testing a new task with a small group of black, male junior high school students. The students were given video tape instructions of how to perform the new task and afterward it was crucial that I be able to discuss with them their reactions and observations about the new task. The students knew I was a professor and as I directed my questions to the group, I received very short and perfunctory responses which were not at all helpful. In the same room was a female, black graduate student. She had worked on the project for several years and knew what I was searching for. She too, asked some questions but yielded little more in the way of responses than I did. Finally, a third person who was in the room was a young man, also black, who had dropped out of high school several years ago and worked part-time in a youth recreation center. When he started up the conversation in a style that was completely foreign to me, the students reacted with openness and eagerness. Within a few minutes I had precisely the information I needed. He didn't always ask the best questions in terms of the requirements of the research project but he did establish a communication network that would have taken me months, if ever, to accomplish.

Students have another difficult problem with teachers in terms of their development as learners. The teachers talk too much of the time, generally more than all of the students together in the class. There are now a number of films that have been produced capturing the ongoing life within a school. One observation is clear from kindergarten to the last year of high school. Most of the time teachers are doing all of the work, the performing, and talking. The most common response from students occurs only when the teacher

specifically requests an answer to a question that usually only the teacher wants answered. The more formal studies confirm what the films suggest; teachers, on the average, talk about seventy to eighty percent of the time.

Two aspects of the above situation are disturbing from the point of view of learning. First, only a certain minority of pupils learn effeciently by listening to someone else. For many students the listening act is very passive and does not engage or involve their thinking processes. Some students don't listen at all for almost the entire day and others misunderstand what a teacher says at the beginning and are unable to follow the arguments that follow. The argument advanced here is not simply that the process of lecture is inefficient but that for many teachers and students a communication exchange that results in learning is never established.

The second disturbing problem connected with teachers and excess talking is the content of their messages. Particularly in inner city schools, and schools dominated by minority children, the teachers spend considerable time giving orders, disciplining students and trying to maintain order. In other words a much greater percentage of teacher talk has no learning content in lower class and minority classrooms than in middle class classrooms.

Many of the proposals made throughout the chapters on inequality focus on the mixing of students from different backgrounds in the same classes. Teaching any group of students is hard enough as any seasoned veteran will tell you but when you start mixing Spanish-speaking children with alienated potential dropouts and with over-achieving middle class Anglo children, the

teaching dilemna becomes impossible. How can any single teacher begin to organize a classroom when the ability and interests vary so much?

Part of the problem and the potential answer lies within the role of a teacher. If a teacher sees her main function as the pouring out of information to be absorbed by students, then it follows that a classroom with widely disparate abilities poses an impossible dilemna of who and what to teach. As bng as the teacher dominates the classroom, then the goal of involving children from different ages and backgrounds and abilities will never be achieved.

One of the first things that must happen is that schools find a new way to organize the classroom activities. This means that the classroom will probably become considerably noisier than most current educators can accept. In other words, in order to meet the varying needs of different children in a single classroom we are generally talking about allowing many different activities to go on at the same time. It also suggests that students will play a more active role in the classroom and the noise will inevitably follow.

This proposal suggests that the teacher's role and function must be able to change. The change can only come about if the question of classroom management can be successfully addressed and solved. Behind the 80 percent teacher talking statistic lies a very disturbing phenomena. Teachers are quite often afraid of loosing control of their students at any moment. Discipline, the novice teacher is told, must be established the first moment he enters the classroom and he must not drop his guard until much later in the year and then only with considerable caution. This pervasive lack of

trust, which is often reinforced by the students' behavior whenever a teacher leaves the room, is taken as a basic fact of life in the teaching arena. Of course, we would all like students to act like mature adults and to be completely responsible for their behavior but the reality of youth tells a different story.

A solution to this problem is critical to changing the teacher's role. The solution at present is not easy and requires the entire school faculty working together in a problem-solving fashion. Schools must create conditions in which children learn how to manage their own behavior both individually and within a group, and without the presence or fear of adult authority hanging over them. This is not a proposal for a more laissez-faire or permissive attitude. Standards for conduct and behavior are not to be dropped in favor of children's own impulsiveness. However, much of the militarism and rigid order demanded of young children must be replaced by a more common sense approach to classroom management. Elementary teachers are forever lining their children up in absolutely straight rows and insisting on no talking before any new activity can be started. There are virtually no parallels to adult situations that require this amount of regimentation except in the military.

Standards are to be established, even with the very young, but the method for arrival at these standards, the consequences for violating the standards, and the monitoring of the standards must all change from current school practice. In recent years new approaches to classroom management that focus heavily on student involvement and student responsibility have emerged. The practices proposed by William Glasser or Rudolph Dreikurs are only two

of the better known attempts in this direction. This paper does not have as its purpose to elaborate the methods prosed by these men. The crucial point for the purposes of this discussion is that these men offer specific techniques, that if adopted and successfully applied to an entire school building, would result in groups of children capable of self management at a very early age. Once children had learned this basic social control for themselves and for groups there is no reason to think that the learning or responsibility will become lost at a later age unless the nature of the school institution changes radically from elementary to middle school and then to high school.

CHAPTER V

The Curriculum

How does a given curriculum contribute to inequality? There are often some obvious problems in underfinanced and rural schools. The school district may be using outdated texts which do not examine the most recent developments particularly in science. Or the schools may lack certain facilities such as laboratories and equipment that prevent the school from offering satisfactory science lab courses.

Inadequate texts and laboratories do not always appear to be strongly associated with race or social class. The problem is much more a regional problem. Some sections of the United States are poor in terms of financing schools and the lack of funds tends to hurt members of all races and social classes in a given region of the country.

The more important problems with curriculum have to do with a quiet revolution that is taking place in the knowledge domain. Until recently the focus on school curriculum has been on the proper teaching of a fixed body of knowledge. There were certain skills, certain books, specific subjects, that all children needed to know according to a fixed time schedule. Emphasis on rote activities and memorization dominated elementary school and this emphasis changed only slightly at the high school level. Again the Sputnik event put the school curriculum in a crisis state. The physics and chemistry classes of 1950 were teaching principles discovered in 1910 and 1920. They were not presenting new theories that either superceded or negated the older explanations. Thus the new sciences, P.S.S.C. Physics, bio-chemistry and so forth were introduced in an effort

to help school teachers catch up with the new information. This up-dating of material spread to social sciences, English, and mathmatics somewhat more slowly than the natural sciences but nonetheless the trend was clear.

Today a new force is slowly making an impact on the curriculum planners. There is a sense in which no curriculum designed for students today can ever be relevant or useful for the same students 30 years from today. Worse yet, the curriculum learned today may have to be largely forgotten and something different learned at a later time. The point here is that a fixed body of knowledge as a basis for organization curriculum is dead.

It is dead for several reasons. Scholars and authorities in the subject matter fields cannot agree on what limited set of facts should be taught to young students. Increases in knowledge continue at an almost uncontrollable rate; as a result a fixed curriculum cannot begin to cope with the expansion in knowledge. Finally, any fixed curriculum, unless constantly revised, is subject to factual error as new ideas are discovered in all fields of inquiry and knowledge.

In spite of the above positions, some form of fixed body of knowledge persists in almost every school. Given its persistence, let us see how the curriculum can contribute to failure and inequality among large groups of students.

One argument has been well articulated in recent years by some educators and spokesmen for minority groups. The designers of curriculums, particularly in English and social studies must make certain choices based on cultural values. For example, an eighth grade literature anthology is needed. What authors from what cultural backgrounds need to be included? Under a fixed

Chapter V

body of knowledge assumption the answer would tend to be the so called great men of past literary stature. Unfortunately this type of reasoning would tend to not include any black, American Indian, Chicano, Puerto Rican, Chinese, or Japanese authors. The cultural tendency has been to focus on White, Anglo-Saxon, Christian thought and therefore writers of this tradition are included, others excluded. The same type of problem arises in history courses when textbooks are selected that do not fully represent important minority figures.

One of the problems that this narrowly based curriculum has is tne overall cultural message being communicated to children of non-white ethnic backgrounds. It is saying to these children: your past, your culture, your heroes are not that important. Here, learn about this other culture that has nothing to do with you.

The damage done by the cultural ethnocentrism that dominates public school curriculum has never been accurately estimated. Most observers feel the damage is primarily directed at the child's self esteem and motivation to perform, both of which indirectly affect achievement.

Unfortunately, it is the exception rather than the rule that a teacher will be bold enough or creative enough to construct her own curriculum units to bridge the multi-cultural gap. Most school systems place considerable pressure on teachers to stick to the text and cover a full-year curriculum rather than encourage any deviation. Thus if immediate reform is to come, it is the textbook industry that must be pressured to act.

In order to alter the ethno-centrism and inflexibility of textbooks our schools need a different type and more varied content of text. One

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Chapter V

simplistic solution to a complex area would be to eliminate single authors for a year long textbook or course of study. At the beginning of a school year students and teacher would receive a large, empty three-ringed notebook. Teachers would then order individual units of curriculum materials that would supplement his teaching. These units should vary in content, style, author, point of view and should allow the student to underline, write comments in the margin, and draw pictures in empty spaces on the pages. The suggestion is offered not as a perfect solution but as a proposal to break up the narrowness, rigidity, and sterility of most textbook writing.

There is a more insidious and damaging way in which curriculum tends to create and perpetuate inequality. Most curriculums, particularly in elementary school, are based on a building block concept of development. What this means is that the curriculum planner and textbook writers do their planning in a logical order of building concept blocks. Concepts and words are initially introduced one year and then used again and more widely the following year. Mathematics is the most obvious case: addition and subtraction lead to multiplication and division, then to fractions, percents, and elementary algebra. In social studies planners often have relied on the expanding community concept; first graders talk about the family; second graders a city or town; and then on to state history in fourth and fifth; U.S. history in sixth or seventh; world history by eighth graders. Some elementary or junior high schools stop at the United States level.

The curriculum is logical enough to the planner and appealing in content to school boards; but what happens to the child? A child who does

Chapter V

poorly in any one grade in a subject will tend to have trouble with that subject in future grades, unless the difficulty was primarly psychological or a special communication problem with a particularly nasty teacher. This happens in math because it is difficult for the child who fails addition and subtraction to be able to perform in multiplication. Or a child who doesn't understand or remember the concepts taught one year, finds he is at a disadvantage the following year when a new teacher assumes the student remembers those concepts and proceeds from there.

In addition the curriculum in subject areas look the same from year to year and the school task requirements are the same from year to year; only harder, longer and more frequent. Again a student who gets off the main track of success at any one year finds the motivation for getting back on track, not very promising.

For years compensatory education was organized around curriculum building block assumptions. The diagnosis tended to say, at what grade level did this child fail to learn his curriculum? Thus seventh grade compensatory education programs will use third grade texts or third grade math books. The students understand the grading, tracking, and levels business so well that they come to accept themselves as failures as soon as they begin using a textbook used by peers two and three years ago.

Is there any way of breaking the cycle of failure generated by a fixed and stagnant curriculum? The most interesting attempts in recent years have gone to entirely new curriculums and tasks that no one else in school has even experienced. In mathematics there have been exciting reports concerning the introduction of abstract math to students who ordinarily fail the regular math. In social studies there has been the introduction

of role playing and simulations.

What is the significance of these curriculum breakthroughs for students? If it is simply the novelty of something new then we would expect a short term halo effect and little in long term gains. Two points of significance about these curriculum changes. First, there is a message of success; the student can learn this material. This is not material that the school has already proved the students can't learn. This represents a new start, a new chance to prove to yourself, to your peers, to your teachers, to your parents, to your community, that you are a learner. This opportunity and feeling needs to be created every time a child begins to fail and falter in his school work. The school must constantly and daily find ways and means of reaffirming to the student that he is a learner, a thinker, and sensitive human being. The records of our schools unfortunately tell us another more dismal story.

Second, the new curriculums are beginning to think not only in terms of content to be learned but instead of intellectual processes to be developed. It is the developmental nature of curriculum that is now important, far more so than the specific content.

The question to ask our school children daily is not what things did you learn today but how did you go about learning what you did? Did you engage in hypothesis testing, inductive reasoning, memorization, inquiry, co-operative sharing, speculation, or imagining? Or on the other hand did you copy from your buddy, did you not listen 90 percent of the time, did you re-phrase what the teacher already said, or did you do nothing but sit at your desk and move your pencil?

The above questioning worries less about what units of curriculum

you covered in a month and instead wants to know what types and processes of intellectual behavior did you engage in. Before arousing a storm in the opposite direction let me assure the reader that I am not entirely indifferent and apathetic to the content of curriculums. Dime store novels, sport stories, feminine apparel magazines and hot rod manuals do not need to become the standard reading fare of high school English, even if these are the average reading fare of adults. But it does mean that teachers, principals and school boards can begin to broaden the concept of curriculum. A course in African music could demand as much intellectual work as any course in American literature or U.S. history. It is now a question of intellectual process; not specific content that can be used to evaluate the significances of a proposed course. This means that teachers can organize hundreds of different courses. It suggests our labeling process of math, science, English, etc., all of which emphasize content, could be eliminated and re-organized under new interdisciplinary headings. These changes, if they every occur, will come about rather slowly and with much resistance. Nonetheless the trend toward a developmental notion of curriculum should be irreversible if the curriculum is to contribute its part toward producing a generation of creative, thinking, and problem-solving students in a multi-ethnic society.

CHAPTER VI

Evaluation

1. Contest Mobility -- historic feature of American Public Schools.

For many decades Americans have prided themselves on the openness of their school system to be able to identify talent, at any stage in life, and to encourage that talent to seek its highest development. The American system of sending all children to public school through the 12th grade and the various efforts to send bright children from poor families to college have been a hallmark of the American system. The G.I. Bill for educational aid after World War II and the Korean War is a good example of how much faith our society has previously invested in the average man with any prospect of talent.

The contest mobility of the American educational system has often been held in contrast to the European system which always appeared unnecessarily rigid and undemocratic. In England and Europe children at the ages of 12 to 13 are given a comprehensive set of exams. Those who pass pursue academic subjects in high school and, if successful, have a reasonable change at a University. Those who fail are sent to trade schools with a high probability for a skilled job at completion but are denied any hope of becoming a professional.

Today in the United States, the rampant abuse of standardized tests by school personnel has substantially changed the historic openness of the American educational system. It is estimated that the 45 million American school children average 3 standardized tests every year. The standardized tests

generally fall under 3 categories: IQ tests, school subject achievement tests and various aptitude tests.

Generally the results of these tests are permanently recorded on each child's folder. Every major industrial country utilizes tests in assessing its students but there is something unique about the American situation. We test over and over again, for every child, every year. The repetition of testing becomes a test legacy for each child and as that history accumulates, any deviations may only look like flukes rather than postive change or growth. The net result may be that by the end of sixth grade the futures available to students have already been determined. Talcott Parsons in his 1959 essay, "The School Class as a Social System," summed up this situation succinctly when he commented on the process of how students are allocated to adult status and roles.

> It is therefore not stretching the evidence too far to say broadly that the primary selective process occurs through differential school performance in elementary school, and that the "seal" is put on it in junior high school. Parsons, p. 131

Since 1959 not only have the use and variety of tests been expanded but computers now enable school districts to test more frequently and record scores permanently and easily on student folders.

In 1966 Goslin and Glass discussed the social effects of standardized testing in elementary and secondary schools. Their sample was a national stratified sample of 5,000 students and more than 1,000 teachers. About seventy percent of the teachers felt that IQ tests were among the most important factors in determining future success for a child. A second result showed that about one-third of the teachers believed that IQ tests measure primarily what a child is born with, his genetic endowment, and

not what he has learned from his environment.

The authors present an interesting ambiguity over the dissemination of test scores. It is clear that almost every teacher (92%) has access to a child's test results and IQ scores. Further, a majority of schools let the students know about results on achievement tests but a large majority claim to inform no one, student or parent, about the IQ score. Yet, a large majority of students report that either their teacher, principal, or counselor told them the specific result of a general result. In short, the IQ results get out to the students contrary to official school policy.

One additional result of the survey is central to our decision. If you ask students, "What is the source of you deciding how much intelligence you really have?", their responses show that standardized test results alone, don't count very much. What does count are the grades and interpersonal evaluations received from the teachers and other school personnel.

At this point I want to summarize the picture I have been presenting from these surveys. First, teachers are very powerful figures in convincing a child just how smart he is. Second, teachers feel that IQ tests are important measures of a child's ability and at least one-third feel the child's intelligence is laid down at birth. Third, IQ tests and achievement tests are given with some frequency every school year for all children. Fourth, a majority of students learn about the results from teachers and school personnel.

The effect of the above steps is to tell students what they possess, intellectually, and where they stand nationally against their same age

peers. In brief, testing has become a giant stratification process that, when abused, convinces children what their potential is and what they can aspire toward. Interestingly enough the test results themselves are not nearly as convincing as the high status teacher telling the child what his ability is. As a consequence of this process, the role of schooling takes on a new perspective. The primary function of schools does not appear to be to arrange learning conditions that maximize a child's growth but instead to convince children what their place in society is going to be and then confirm this action by advertising the results to the community and all future societal agencies.

From a societal-management perspective the schools appear not to educate children as much as they process children. That is, the schools take the environmental differences among children as indicated by IQ scores, parent social class, and pre-school enrichment and simply process those differences through 12 years of schooling. At the end of those 12 years students are basically in the same hierarchical position as they were at the start. However, the differences in measured performance have now increased which further justify the stratification of the students into different adult occupational futures.

A long literature has accumulated demonstrating that IQ tests are culture bound and to some degree reflect a particular social class bias. In the United States an IQ test has some measure of usefulness with middle and upper middle class children who are white. For other ethnic groups and social classes the IQ measure loses its validity and for children from a minority culture it should not be used at all because it discriminates

unfairly on the basis of social and cultural experiences.

Particularly at an early age a child from a poor, non-white background is unlikely to have experienced a similar environment, verbally or physically, to a white middle-class child. The items on the most frequently used IQ tests are drawn from and the norms are established for children from white and middle class backgrounds. It should not surprise anyone that a child whose cultural and environmental experiences differ substantially from society's majority will test differently.

The other point to observe is the effect of this accumulated testing history on children from low income backgrounds. Let us assume that large numbers of these children enter school with skill deficits compared to more affluent children. The effect of standardized testing is to lock these children into their low status position. At first grade the mother finds out her child is one year below the norms and the gap increases every year after. By using tests in this way to establish a learning hierarchy, our schools effectively destroy their own power to increase the knowledge and performance of the disadvantaged child.

It should be made clear at this point that I am not arguing for a law which bans standardized testing. The problem is far more complex than any single law could remedy. Standardized tests do have useful purposes when handled properly by teachers, counselors, and principals.

One extremely proper use, but rarely in evidence, is to present a student with objective evidence concerning his strengths, things that he can do well. A second proper use would be as a diagnostic tool for teachers. That is, student performance on subjects taught by teachers would be fed back only to the teacher as a measure of his teaching

effectiveness. A third proper use would be to indicate what skills at what levels of performance a student has accomplished. Rather than always worrying about distributing students along a normal curve, educators could establish fixed goals of achievement for every student to try and succeed at. The constant placing of children in comparative positions only serves to emphasize their weaknesses or vulnerability to being de-throned as a "superior"student -- it does not build on their strengths.

One of the most unfortunate consequences of standardized testing has been the concept of a normal curve. The normal curve is a highly useful psychological research construct for understanding the distribution of performance along a given dimension. But it is not useful as a means of describing student capacity for achievement. The normal curve particularly when used as a means of evaluation, guarantees that at most only one-third of the students, by definition, can have a successful learning experience. One-third must view themselves as mediocre and a final third are defined as failures. The curve itself doesn't say this but teachers and school personnel, along with parents, interpret the results in this fashion. Further, society distributes its academic rewards and choices for higher education in a similar pattern.

The bright and-dumb interpretation of normal curve distributions for student achievement however is fallacious. In the most obvious case, several elite Universities have finally recognized this situation. Schools, such as Harvard, Stanford, and Chicago draw all their students from those whose grade points in high school approach a straight A average and whose college board scores place these students in the upper 98 percentile of the nation. In the past, the University took this highly extreme and select population

and applied a normal curve label to the student body. Of course, even among the very bright students, individual differences exist and the University created its own group of poor students and failures.

The absurdity of doing this is now apparent at these universities; and Harvard, for example, graduates almost half of its senior class with some type of academic honors.

The case for elite universities or prep schools to alter their interpretation of a normal curve is obvious but can it be applied to large public schools where academic talent has been distributed "by nature" along a more heterogeneous normal curve distribution?

The confusion and debate on this issue centers around the meaning attributed to IQ and aptitude scores along the normal curve distribution. A new position challenging the current practices in schools has been advanced by John Carroll, Benjamin Bloom, and James Block. These men suggest that aptitude and IQ do not predict capacity or what a person is capable of learning, rather those test scores predict the rate or time required for learning under ideal conditions.

Their model then suggests an open ended learning curve in which limits of capacity are not placed on any student. The limit, is one of time and of establishing proper conditions.

Much of what this paper tries to suggest is that school personnel engage in a series of practices that guarantee low aspirations, low achievement, and negative self-concepts for large numbers of students. In this chapter the focus is on evaluation. Evaluation takes on a specter of the hand of the gods establishing permanently an adult judgment on a student's

worth. Not surprisingly, most students accept the adult's judgment as to what he is worth academically and what he can hope for as an adult.

Once again it is important to gain a perspective of how teachers view evaluation. Most teachers are not interested in making final judgments on childrens' lives. They don't intentionally want to block the achievement and aspiration of any ethnic group or social class. In fact, if you asked most teachers, they might even root for the underdog child to get ahead. As Arthur Stinchcombe has pointed out, teachers would be very pleased if a given poor child in his class grew up to be a successful banker or doctor. Stinchcombe goes on to say

> Psychometricians and sociologists think grades are measuring and sorting devices. Most teachers do not too much care about measuring people accurately, nor would they feel dismayed if a dull working class boy got a good job. They would be glad. Teachers tend to think of tests and grades as discipline devices. The quiet that descends when a teacher gives a quiz is more blessed than the reliability of the questions. Grades are to make students pay attention. Stinchcombe, p. 219

The Stinchcombe observation points out an essential fact. A teacher's number one concern in class is to gain appropriate discipline and respect of the students. The most efficient way to achieve this is through a daily evaluation process, formal and informal, that forces the student to pay attention.

The necessity for paying attention relates directly to an earlier chapter in which I presented the basic finding that teachers talk 80 percent of the time. It follows rather clearly that if any institution is going to gain control of 30 students at one time, require those students to sit still for six hours, and insist they listen to a teacher talk and act most of the time, then that type of institution needs a powerful device to make

students listen.

The device is an evaluation system which requires not only academic performance but disciplined behavior from the students. This type of system works best when the students perceive that it is in their own best interests to pay attention. Once students decide that listening to a teacher and paying attention to what he commands has little value for him, then a general breakdown in that educational system can be expected.

This breakdown now occurs regularly in our public schools. Large numbers of black students and Chicanos would like to be excellent students in order to change their social class status as adults. For the majority of non-white students though their school experience is a negative one. Given the school's commitment to using a curve distribution for negatively evaluating the majority of students, non-white students see little hope of improving their academic position.

In recent years a new breakdown has become apparent in the affluent, successful suburban schools. Suddenly large numbers of white middle class children are experimenting with drugs, wearing their hair longer, dressing in a disheveled style, and downgrading any interest in academic achievement or success.

The reaction of many teachers and parents to this recent phenomenon has been to decry a loss of discipline in the schools and to make an appeal for harsher and more rigid application of rules. Such reactions are counter productive and simply increase the ante for students who find the current organization of schooling useless and uninteresting.

There is one additional caveat that runs through the organization of

of public schools and it is connected closely to the evaluation process -- that is, the need for competition. Competition as a general principle is supported in our public schools primarily because our society views competition as a critical force for maintenance of an industrial culture. In addition to its life-preparation function, competition is seen as a motivating and separating device among large numbers of students who start school as equals.

Competition can take many forms but the schools rely heavily on two aspects. First, a process of invidious comparison in which each act a student performs is compared to the performance of other peers and a judgment is made as to equality, superiority, or inferiority of the two performances. The second form of competition is derived from the normal curve assumption about student performances. It establishes that only a limited number of positive rewards are available to the entire group of students and they must struggle one against the other, with teacher as referee, to decide what few individuals gain the rewards.

Both forms of competition have a clear utility in our schools but we must focus on their heavy costs. The costs of competition are difficult to estimate but it can be assumed that about two-thirds of the students in schools are learning victims of a competitive system. That is, their growth and development is severely blocked, primarily because they did not or could not adequately overcome the negative effects of competition. What most educators understand, but can do little about, is that the fault for lack of performance is not the students' but the design of the school system and its evaluation precedure.

Chapter VI

In conclusion this nation is presently facing a crisis in its rigid system of public school organization. This country desperately needs a flowering of a thousand different types and organizations of schools -- from one room school houses to educational parks, from non-graded cross-age learning centers to individualized tutorial with computers. The current rigidity and monopoly exhibited by today's public schools must be broken. Some educators fear proposals such as the voucher scheme and neighborhood control of schools, and believe that public education as we know it today will be destroyed by reckless reforms. I do not share these fears because my experience with parents, especially poor parents, is that they are not reckless when it comes to education. Parents throughout this country want quality education and if they are given adequate information, they can judge the quality for their child as well as many superintendents.

Widespread agreement exists that our schools are still in drastic need of change and reform. The exact list of reforms applicable to each school does not exist. There are educators and parents who take dramatically opposite views about the changes that are needed.

It might be a mistake for any set of educators or Congressional Committee to attempt a prescription for reform. Congress and the State legislatures need to reform the stranglehold of laws, education codes, and rules that block change even when school boards and schools desire it. If new governing structures are available, then I believe that students, parents, and teachers themselves will produce a multiplicity of reforms. Out of a period of diversity may emerge a new set of school experiences that would successfully reduce the unfair and unnecessary inequality among groups of students that now characterizes American public school practices.

DIFFERING PATTERNS OF SCHOOL INTEGRATION IN AMERICAN SOCIETY

INTRODUCTION

Points of Conflict and Confusion

There is still considerable conflict and confusion surrounding the term integration as it applies to public education. On a federal level there are sharp questions being asked as to why the Southern schools must integrate and the Northern schools remain as de-facto segregated schools with severe racial imbalance. In addition to the political questions and exchange of rhetoric, federal officials are also uncertain as to how best spend money and set guidelines in order to advance the goal of integrated schools.

On an intellectual level, the debate and confusion was renewed by Alexander Bickel's article in the February 7, 1970 New Republic issue and the replies (from scholars around the country) which followed in subsequent issues. (March 7, 21, and 28, issues.) Bickel's article was faithful to his title; that is, he raised some difficult questions about our national policy of school integration and where it was heading. Bickel observed that in many places school plans for integration are not working: either school districts re-segregate from within the system or white parents have strong motivation to move away from desegregated schools to all-white neighborhoods and schools. Bickel also mentions that the vanguard opinion among many blacks is toward community controlled schools, which accept the facts of life about racial imbalance and try to move ahead on reform issues of parental involvement and new curriculum that raises self-esteem.

In a follow-up issue to the Bickel article, David Tyack pointed out that in some important ways, school integration is working in Seattle, Washington; Portland, Oregon; Berkeley, California; Riverside, California; and Teaneck, New Jersey. These successes may be more of an indication of the future than Bickel's example of Canton, Mississippi. He also mentions that most recent surveys still suggest

that the largest majority of black parents prefer the goal of integrated schooling, and that the basic national values of equal opportunity and an open society may be achieved best by pursuing integrated education.

Many more opinions and ideas were expressed in the New Republic debate, and these arguments are probably only a national reflection of thousands of arguments that take place daily in every school district that is talking about school integration. Part of the reason for the confusion and debate over school integration is that very few scholars, policy makers, school board members, teachers and parents have attempted to articulate what is meant by the term school integration and what are the goals implied by this term. Obviously, there is no single simple definition to a richly, diffuse abstract term such as school integration, but then I think we can do much better than to simply conclude for each man at a different time the word has a distinct meaning.

In thinking about the many different arguments surrounding the word school integration, I have discerned four distinct patterns. These patterns pull together an entire set of meanings, reforms and goals for the concept in terms of school practice. All four patterns share some important goals in common; however, their points of distinction are very important for policy-makers and educators to understand. The distinct patterns of school integration can place in perspective many of the ongoing debates over methods for achieving integrated schools.

The implications of four distinct patterns of school integration are important on local and national levels of policy making. They suggest that as the courts and federal government move beyond the mechanical numbers game formula for desegregating schools and begin to take positive action in support of integration programs, a number of alternative actions all in the name of integration will be put forth. They also suggest that policy makers should neither be blind nor

naive in supporting one pattern of integration as the only pattern of school integration available.

The four distinct patterns of school integration may be summarized by the following four labels: white-dominated integration; minority-dominated integration; shared-power integration; and utopian integration. Before discussing these major patterns of school integration and their key differences, I will outline their broad areas of agreement.

The areas of agreement can be divided into two major classes of variables or effects, tangible and intangible. One main tangible goal shared by all integrationists is that the quality and quantity of school facilities, including plant, curriculum and teachers, should be equivalent for all classes and ethnic groups of children. The second main tangible goal is the equal distribution of school performance scores among children from different racial and social class backgrounds. Put simply, student output in terms of measured achievement should not be predictable by race or by social class. The above two tangible goals represent the concrete meaning of equality of educational opportunity and all patterns of integration are committed to striving for equality of educational opportunity.

A basic assumption of school integration plans is that the above goals cannot be achieved in a satisfactory way as long as severe racial imbalance exists within a given school system. Therefore, the mixing of children from different backgrounds, both ethnic and social class, is the basic working element of all school integration proposals. However, the fixation over rigid formulas for racial balance have less to do with the major goals of school integration than they do with providing district administrators shorthand formulas for making decisions.

This is an important point because school administrators, courts, and government policy makers become agitated if the ethnic composition of a school

deviates too much from the general distribution of ethnic groups in an entire school district. If the goals of quality educational plants, increased achievement for minority groups, and the varying community desires of different parent groups are kept in balance, then our obsession over numbers and percentages of minority students will diminish.

Once we introduce children and teachers from different ethnic and social class backgrounds in the same school building, then we can discuss a second major class of variables on which all integrationists agree. The most important intangible goal of integration centers around the many dimensions of warm human relationships. The goal of an integrated school, regardless of pattern, would be to establish strong, viable, healthy relationships among young persons who differ markedly in social and ethnic characteristics.

White Dominated Integration

This form of integration is probably the one most preferred and practiced by school districts and yet to apply the label "white dominated" will bring about the loudest denials from white educators. To suggest that integration is white dominated implies some form of racism or that the goal of this type of integration is to make black children and other minorities look like and act like white children. Most of these blatant manifestations of racial and cultural superiority have been replaced by more subtle and probably less harmful practices.

White dominated integration does not simply refer to a numerical majority of white students that will exist in most integrated schools. Numbers, of course, do play a part in creating an atmosphere of white dominance (which only reflects the reality of the larger adult society) but there is much more to the concept. It implies that the culture, values, and norms, as represented by middle class white children, are the majority values and thus the task for all minorities is to learn and practice the middle class values. At heart, it is

a social class argument that gets confused with a racial issue because the two are so highly intercorrelated.

The white dominated integration pattern is a modern extension of the "melting pot" theories of previous American historical eras. The majority society (white, middle-class dominated) asks the minority groups (both peer and non-white) to give up its attachment to a past identity and attempt as much as possible to emulate the standards and behavior of the middle class culture.

White dominated integration seeks only small changes from white teachers and white students. Their values, style of interaction, achievement motivation, patterns of aggressiveness, and desires for competition, are all largely acceptable to the general school culture. White dominated integration does ask the majority white pupils to be tolerant of the minority students and to gently apply pressure to minority groups to conform to the middle class standards. That is, to the degree that minority pupils are able to perform well along the dimensions of white value standards, then the minority groups are accepted within the friendship patterns of the majority whites.

White dominated integration expects to improve the achievement level of minority pupils by creating a school climate that strongly values academic achievement. Specifically, the standards of competition are raised high for the minorities and the expected result for many minority students will be strong increases in motivation and work output.

In the area of teacher recruitment and curriculum changes, the emphasis is on academic excellence. White dominated integration worries very little about the ethnic background of the teacher; instead it seeks teachers with the highest academic credentials. Changes in curriculum are minor since white dominated integration feels that most subjects should be color blind. A history course may develop a unit or two on minority groups or else an elective may show up

covering some aspect of minority groups. Once again, the choice for curriculum topics will fall in line with the value demands of the white dominated culture.

Crispus Attucks would be portrayed as a young rebel working for the American revolution. On the other hand, Nat Turner or W. E. DeBois would barely be mentioned. The point is that minority individuals who achieve along the achievement axis or in accord with the social-political goals of middle class America are worthy of mention. Other individuals who deviated from the middle class norms, but nontheless were significant forces, would tend not to be mentioned.

Discussions about race and sensitivity groups would be avoided primarily because such topics are not part of the achievement orientation of the striving middle class school. In a sense, the rules governing school life are made for everybody and the role of minority pupils is to adjust and benefit from the white dominance, not to challenge its structure or demand that certain modifications be made for any group of individuals.

Minority Dominated Integration

Minority dominated integration should not be confused with an imbalanced school. White people, especially, have this contradictory notion that a school with 70% white and 30% black is integrated, whereas the same school with 70% black and 30% white is racially imbalanced. How does one distinguish a racially imbalanced school from a minority dominated, integrated school. It may not be easy at first, but the distinctions are very real for minority groups. The answer lies in the distribution of power and the attitudes that students and parents have about the school.

The minority dominated integrated school is essentially a community controlled school. This means that each school as some type of mini-board that makes some policies for the school. Members of the mini-board are active participants in a community that surrounds the minority dominated school. The sense of community

and the collective action and power of minority groups are essential parts of the educational process for students in the minority dominated, integrated school. Many of these children have little sense of efficacy and are often described as fate controlled. This condition is altered to the degree that they are included in an active, vociferous group which can bring about changes in school and community practices. This type of integration is not only appealing to minority groups, but also to white children who could benefit from belonging to a larger collectivity that actively pursues group ideals. The assumption among minorities is that white children and parents are acceptable as long as they don't try to take over.

The presence and active participation of parents in the formal organization of the school and the close association of school to community is what distinguishes the minority dominated integrated school from the white dominated integrated school. Both schools are very concerned with achievement, advancement, and power. In the minority dominated, integrated school, parents and mini-boards are not willing to turn the educational enterprise over to professionals; the parents want an active stake in the planning and operation of the school.

An important reason for the presence of parents in minority dominated integration is to reduce the culture conflict between middle class school values and minority group values. In addition to teaching facts and skills (the job of the professional), the parents and a few trusted teachers have important socialization work to do on the self-images and aspirations of the youth in the school. Black and brown are not only beautiful, but they are active political forces learning how group organization can meet the eventual challenge of a white dominated culture.

The curriculum may show some important changes in the minority dominated, integrated school. Especially if the school is located in an urban area, the

overriding theme of the school will be survival and urban problems. The school courses will tend to focus on the current reality and many efforts will be made to directly relate school learning to the urban environment. Achievement is emphasized because it is part of survival and, beyond that, creates opportunities for living well. The curriculum is current because the emphasis is on developing a student body that can change its world, not fit into the one that existed for their parents.

Given the emphasis on relevance and social change, the recruitment of teachers is very important. However, race is not the single most important qualification for teaching in the minority dominated integrated school. It is essential that the power positions: mini-board members, principals, vice principals, deans, counselors, and curriculum experts -- be minority personnel. In the task and teaching areas, urban experience, attitude, and teaching expertise are more important than the ethnic identity of the person. A minority ethnic background is helpful because it gives a teacher an advantage in opening up the communication process, but it is well understood by minority parents and principals that teaching skills and knowledge must also be present.

Shared Power Integration

In this pattern of integration the school allows and encourages the different ethnic groups to establish their own separate group and cultural identities. Multi-ethnic education is the key concept in this pattern. Although a core curriculum and many teachers are shared in common by all students, there are a large number of elective courses that would reflect the special interests of each ethnic group. The school allows separate youth cultures to emerge reflecting the different ethnic groups. For example, among the extracurricular activities, several school newspapers might emerge reflecting very dif erent points of view. Soul dances, rock dances, and square dances would be an equal part of the

curriculum. And if white cheerleaders tend to have a different style of leading cheers than blacks, there would be no harm if both ethnic groups chose a different set of cheerleaders. Formally, no person can be excluded from any campus activity on the basis of race or ethnic background, but informally, it is recognized that different activities reflect the different desires and styles of a multi-ethnic student body.

Many educators and parents confuse this type of integration with re-segregation. They argue that permitting these different ethnic groups to form and have expression on campus and in curriculum life encourages separation of the races, which to them is segregation. These people have not come to grips with the full meaning of a pluralistic society. Pluralism means a literal sharing of power, not some form of noblesse oblige that allows a select few differences to exist.

The attempt in shared power integration is to build a form of respect and an ability to negotiate among the different ethnic groups on campus. There is no effort to alter the basic socialization of any ethnic groups as there is in the minority dominated and white dominated forms of integration. Shared power integration delights in the differences among people and allows these differences to be positive resources and points of stimulation rather than to supress their effects. Groups and individuals are encouraged to find their own path, but where those paths conflict, compromise and negotiation replace one group dominating the other.

Utopian Integration

The fourth form of integration is probably the rarest to be found. In utopian integration the effort is to eliminate the emphasis on racial identification and consciousness among all ethnic groups. It is an extension of the "melting pot" myth, but it differs from the modern day version as expressed

in white dominated integration. In utopian integration, the school system attempts to build a radically new culture in which race loses its significance.

Sensitivity groups, human encounters and other techniques are constantly used to break down all of the racial stereotyping and encourages students to relate to each other strictly as individuals and in some sense stripped of past cultural meaning. The teachers and students attempt to build their own special community with its own culture that would embrace everyone. Heavy emphasis is placed on cooperative learning, group projects, human relationships and there is an avoidance of excessive stress on achievement, competition, and the other main features of middle class society. The school atmosphere is relaxed with much more emphasis on joy, spontaneity, and creativity.

In this school the ethnic background of teachers is much less important than their own willingness to express joy and creativity in their work. The attitudes of the teachers are essential for this type of school to function. The teachers must be skilled in encounter experiences and open themselves to the expression of emotion and personal feeling in a social setting. The function of the utopian integrated school is to allow students and faculty, along with interested parents, a chance to create a new way of relating to themselves and people in society. The principle mode of change is not aimed at outside institutions but focuses on the internal conditions of the school and classroom itself. The emphasis of this school is not socialization in the narrow sense of learning the existing prescribed adult roles, but developing whole new life styles that can embrace people of different ethnic and social classes.

Summary

To the degree that distinct groups of parents share the values of more than one of these patterns of school integration, then no single policy of school integration will be acceptable to all groups. The ideas presented in this essay

suggest that policy makers, school board officials, school officials and parents must understand the need for a large school system to offer a variety of alternative schooling arrangements to meet the diverse demands of community and neighborhood groups. To do any less is to invite a series of interracial conflicts within our schools for the next decade of public education.

Senator MONDALE. The committee is in recess, subject to the call of the Chair.

(Whereupon, at 11:35 a.m., the Select Committee was recessed, subject to the call of the Chair.)

APPENDIX

ON THE ROAD TO EDUCATIONAL FAILURE: A LAWYER'S GUIDE TO TRACKING*

By Em Hall

Prologue: Everything taught in the schools isn't listed in the curriculum guide. Schools teach (or claim to teach) every child how to read, to write, to add, subtract, multiply, and divide, and to use these tools to develop other practical, intellectual and social skills. But the schools also teach children their place.

Indeed, the schools' major social function can be seen as that of allocating human resources for the larger society, assuring that there will not only be a sufficient number of men of knowledge and learning, but also a sufficient number of hewers of wood and drawers of water. While schools are organized to provide this service, there is more to life in society than work, and education could and should be organized to service this wider range of values.

Tracking, using the term in the broader sense to include all ability grouping, represents a solution to an insoluble dilemma. While individualized instruction has long been touted as the great desideratum in American education, no one has ever been willing to pay what it would cost to give each child a different education. Educators thus devised what they considered to be the next best thing, educational units large enough to be economically viable but small enough to isolate students with what were thought to be roughly similar educational needs. These needs are determined by an unformulated formula employing objective testing, classroom achievement, and teacher recommendations. The effect of a particular child's background on performance on these measures is rarely considered.

Though the system was devised to effect educational opportunity for all children, in practice the process has cumulative and severely limiting effects.[1] At every point on the institutional path, educators select certain criteria—and in effect ignore others—as indices of educational needs. Having determined need, they then provide differentiated programs on the basis of these needs and group children accordingly. A decision at one point in time limits the range of alternatives available at the next. More often than not, slow readers in the first grade

*Reprinted from "Inequality in Education," No. 5, Harvard Center for Law and Education.

[1] There are many analyses of this problem. A good, short, general description is Christina Tree, "Grouping Pupils in New York City," The Urban Review, September 1968.

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graduate as slow shop students from high school, while children who were judged quick in elementary school are those who end up taking college-level courses in their senior year of high school. More often than not, the social class and race of the child involved appear to have as much to do with their placement as anything else. Class and race influence the teacher's expectations and assessments, they affect classroom achievement—particularly when classes are themselves segregated by race or social class—and they appear to affect performance on placement tests as well. Schools cannot continue to program in this way for relative failure and still claim to function as equalizing agencies. These grouping programs, for whatever reasons, tend to harden the race and class lines drawn in the larger society. They are structurally incapable of offering equality of educational opportunity to those groups who have had it least and need it most.

The educational mechanisms producing these results come in a variety of forms. Grouping takes place within classrooms and between them. It appears in the offer of broad curriculum programs in the same high school. It distinguishes populations of entire buildings; many cities track by schools, as in Tech High and Latin. Resources allocated to the resulting units vary along every descriptive axis: different textbooks; different kinds and qualities and even numbers of teachers; different capital investment patterns; different kinds and qualities and numbers of children. At the same level, programs in different units can vary in content, emphasis, and speed of presentation. Principles of unit assignment can also differ; sometimes only objective measures such as intelligence tests are used; more often the more subjective measures such as teacher recommendations and grades are also employed. Nominally and superficially, every local school system differentiates its programs and children differently. Thus, in examining systems, it would be well for the observer not to permit himself to be distracted by differences in terminology, but rather to keep in mind the essential characteristics of the system.

Despite their myriad forms, these systems share a common theoretical underpinning and historical genesis.[2] Furthermore, only four characteristics are critical to analysis of any system at any level where grouping is done on the basis of ability.[3] First, the inclusiveness of a grouping scheme determines how many subsequent opportunities at any given educational level remain open to the classified individual. The test of inclusiveness is the extent to which grouping limits or ex-

[2] See L. Cremin, The Transformation of the American School, (Random House, 1964) pp. 188–191.

[3] The four characteristics are adopted from A. B. Sorenson, "Organizational Differentiation of Students and Educational Opportunity," Report No. 57, Center for the Study of Social Organization of Schools, The Johns Hopkins University, December 1969.

pands future choices or development. In the most inclusive schemes, all children placed in the lowest first grade classification will end up 9 years later in the lowest high school track. The second common characteristic is electivity, or the degree to which a child's placement reflects his—or his parents'—choice. Third is selectivity, which comprises the nature of the chosen index of ability or learning capacity and consequently the type and degree of unit homogeneity resulting from the selection process. Finally, there is what can be called the scheme's comprehensiveness, which is a measure of how complete and how long lasting is the effect of any particular classification decision on the individual student.

Four Characteristics

Each of these characteristics translates painlessly into matters of constitutional concern and statistical debate. If the duty of equal protection is read as an obligation to provide equal opportunity, then the focus of constitutional interest in the system's inclusiveness falls on its limiting or liberating effects over time. A low first-grade ability group that is genuinely compensatory in nature and has the effect of improving achievement, thereby increasing student options at the next allocation stage, will attract more legal sympathy than one which tends to lock students into a pattern of declining performance, thereby constricting later alternatives. Longitudinal data, following the pattern of grouping decisions in the educational lives of particular children, has never been gathered, but would go a long way in establishing whether early classification decisions tend to be self-fulfilling at later stages of the process. The limited descriptive studies available bear out this widespread belief, but their evidence is as yet merely suggestive and not conclusive.[4]

Electivity raises more difficult equal protection issues to which I return later. It suffices to say here that many free-choice plans leave less to initiative and freedom—which would absolve the State of responsibility for any imposed classification—than to overt or subtle forms of social and educational discrimination. Most school systems, for example, allow entering high school students a fairly free choice of three basic curriculums: college, general, or vocational. But the student comes to that decision with the collected residue of 9 years of previous schooling which will have an obvious and often determinative effect on the options realistically and psychologically available to him. And recent administrative studies have found that support services designed to aid in the exercise of what is left of that free choice

[4] See Ray C. Rist, "Student Social Class and Teacher Expectations: The Self-Fulfilling Prophecy in Ghetto Education," forthcoming, Harvard Education Review, Vol. 30, No. 3 (August 1970).

function more to reinforce early school decisions about the student's prospects than they do to expand his alternatives.[5]

Analysis of a plan's selectivity goes to the heart of a different and more direct constitutional requirement: rationality in the means chosen to a legitimate end. A system whose classifying fact[6] or ordering criterion relates to ability, for example, must as a minimum include a rational procedure for measuring ability and making judgments accordingly. In equal protection terms of justifying its different treatment of individuals and groups, the State may be required to demonstrate rationality in the plan's implementation as a prerequisite to approval of its substance. Enter the maze of contradictory evidence about the fairness of intelligence tests and the growing data suggesting that even if the tests are fair, their use as a decisionmaking tool is not. Any plan which either fails to measure ability accurately or to make even-handed grouping decisions accordingly has lost most of its purpose and justification.

That possibility will prove greatest where the effect of the classification decision is most comprehensive. A grouping assignment permanent in time, encompassing in curriculum, and unchanging in class composition may encounter more serious constitutional objections than a plan whose consequences are more limited. The degree of pupil mixing in different classes or subjects, the flexibility for purposes of transfer and promotion, and the provision of ongoing evaluation of assignment decisions will prove preeminent factors in any constitutional analysis of the scope and rigidity of a grouping plan.

But Does It Work?

The jurisdiction of even the most flexible plan may also disappear if it meets all of these mechanical tests and simply does not work, even on its own terms. The rationale for institution of plans like ability grouping relies heavily on the proposition that students in tracked systems increase their capacity to learn—and their educational achievement—as a consequence of the differentiated programs to which they are assigned. Legal and educational issues converge in the controversy centered around the question of whether ability grouping leads to greater educational achievement by any or all of the group of children affected.

Studies in this area are as numerous as they are inconclusive; grouping research tries hard to make up in bulk what it lacks in hard findings.[7] Many of the most recent reports with more sophisticated

[5] See A. Cicourel and J. Kitsuse, The Educational Decision-Makers (Bobbs-Merrill, 1965).

[6] The term is John Coon's. Anyone interested in the application of the equal protection clause to education should consult his work. See Coons, Clune, and Sugarman, "Educational Opportunity: A Workable Constitutional Test for State Financial Structures," 57 California Law Review 305, 326 (1969).

[7] The most exhaustive analyses include: M. Goldberg, A. Passow, and J. Jostman, The effects of Ability Grouping (Teachers College, Columbia University, 1966) and W. Borg, An Evaluation of Ability Grouping, Cooperative Research Project No. 577 (Utah State University; U.S. Office of Education; 1964). See also National Education Association, Research Division, Ability Grouping–Research Summary 1968 (1968).

methodology focus on comparisons of groups of similar students, half assigned randomly to classrooms and half sent to classes of students of similar ability. The problem posed: Do children grouped homogeneously achieve better over a given limited period of time—usually not more than 2 years—than children who are grouped heterogenously, all other things being equal. Answer: Usually not. Further, there is some evidence that while homogenous grouping has no particular effect on children of high or middle ability, it measurably adds to the disadvantage of children of low ability. At the least, the research has never validated the educational rationale of grouping, that everyone benefits.

Recent critics of the major studies have argued that the results are inconclusive, either because the situation is ambiguous, or more likely, because their operating assumptions are unsophisticated.[8] Most studies make the simplifying assumption that there is a direct link between the structure of the unit and its member's achievement, ignoring the possibility that the mere fact of being in a low track may have more meaning than whatever measure was used to place the child in a particular track.

The now famous "Pygmalion effect" adds a psychological dimension to the structural one. In this experiment, children were given tests and teachers were informed that certain children would do well and that others would do poorly. This, in fact, proved to be the case, even though the good and poor risks had been chosen at random; only the teacher's expectations have been changed.[9] A reanalysis of the Coleman report data indicates that classroom race and class composition has a more important effect on student achievement than school race and class composition.[10] So long as grouping is carried on according to the current standard operating procedures, most integrated schools will be segregated by classroom as a result of purportedly neutral selection processes. These selection processes, however, have a strong negative influence on achievement. At this point, debates about the validity of the Coleman data and the precise holding in Brown and its progeny will be narrowed to an investigation of the composition of particular classrooms.

These findings are all partial and suggestive; no one has yet added together all that is known. But the picture that might emerge is almost sure to show what has always been supposed, that all the different problems isolated by these studies converge on a single social—and racial—class, with local variations. Those harmed in the various ways the studies describe turn out to be the poor, the black—or Latin, or Indians, or migrant children—and in general those for whom educational success is a matter of survival rather than of supplementation of what they otherwise come by at home. If this convergence at the bottom in fact occurs, then grouping becomes more than an educational practice of undemonstrated worth. It becomes a mechanism

[8] See Sorenson.

[9] R. Rosenthal and L. Jacobsen, Pygmalion in the Classroom (Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1968).

[10] J. McPartland, "The Segregated Student in Desegregated Schools," Report No. 21, Center for the Study for the Study of the Social Organization of Schools, The Johns Hopkins University, 1968. This study has been questioned on methodological grounds.

through which judicially favored classes, the poor and members of racial and ethnic minorities, are being denied equal access to an education, a Government service that is gradually gaining status as a fundamental right.[11]

Institutional Mismatch

On precisely such grounds, Judge Skelly Wright enjoined the operation of the Washington, D.C., tracking system, going further than any other judicial approach to grouping.[12] The court first gathered a huge amount of data on the mechanics of the four-track scheme devised and operated by then Superintendent of Schools Carl Hansen, noting the great scope, rigidity, and inclusiveness of its operation. Of particular interest to the court was the system's comprehensiveness, the way in which assignment to a track often proved to be inflexible and of long duration.

Race and class data established a high correlation between track assignment and the background of the affected child. Wright went on to rule that when State-imposed classifications dealing with critical personal rights—as he ruled education to be—operated in a way that placed the heaviest burdens on the poor and culturally disadvantaged —as assignment to lower tracks seemed to—then the State had to come forward and show a compelling reason for proceeding as they did.

When Washington school officials offered the results of standard aptitude tests as the reason for their grouping practices. Wright ruled those results meaningless, measuring nothing more than the background from which the students came.[13] Since the classifying criteria had nothing to do with relative abilities to learn, black and poor children assigned to lower ability groups where less education was offered or expected than in higher ones, were being systematically undereducated.

Hobson thus represents a successful attack on the selective mechanism used in the Washington tracking plan, not a frontal assault on the idea of differentiated services for students with differing educational needs. Wright enjoined the operation of the system not because of its

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[11] See D. Kirp, "The Poor, The Schools, And Equal Protection," Harvard Educational Review, Vol. 38, No. 4 (Fall 1968) p. 635.

[12] *Hobson* v. *Hansen*, 269 F. Supp. 401 (D.D.C., 1967) aff'd sub nom *Smuck* v. *Hobson*, 408 F. 2d 175 (D.C. Cir. 1969). See Inequality in Eucation No. 1, p. 11, for a list of other cases on the constitutionality of grouping plans. In no other case have the plans themselves been ruled on per se; in all cases the court required at least that there be some showing of actual harm before it would consider intervention.

[13] The problem of testing is complex. Not only are the tests biased, but the manner in which they are administered can also have profound effects on scores. These questions will be discussed in a subsequent issue of Inequality in Education.

theoretical purpose but because there was no constitutionally legitimate way to match different students to programs offering them greater or lesser amount of education. Neither the judge nor the plaintiffs insisted that all grouping schemes were impermissible. But without its testing program school administrators could not justify assignment of some children to fast classes and others to slow ones.

The Quest for a Remedy

Heterogeneous grouping would have been the inevitable—though unintended—result if the circuit court of appeals had not worked the miracle of affirming Wright's district court order and at the same time cutting the substance out of his tracking decree. While upholding his rulings on Washington's tracking scheme, it limited their applicability to the system as it operated up to 1968. Local school officials could continue to track on the basis of a testing program, but they could not do so if the new system bore too close a programmatic resemblance to the system Wright had ordered stopped. This hurdle was leaped with alacrity—and very little difficulty. Washington schools continue to track as usual, but with different lines on the chart and different labels on all the little boxes.

Education in Washington is no better than it was, but it is doubtful that the alternative implicity settled on by Wright would have improved the situation much. Treating all children alike in the services delivered to them has never been thought the apogee of effective education. Random grouping in any urban system produces such a wide range of ability differences within each class that teachers are obliged either to pay no attention to some children or to subdivide the class according to her own perceptions of the children's differing needs, thus reproducing in classroom miniature the problems raised by schoolwide grouping.

In the classroom, the lowest level of school organization, no traditional legal solution for possible grouping abuses can offer much help for sensitive and fundamental change. Granting the wisdom of the new equal protection approach Wright used to reach the result he did—which many courts and commentators refuse to do [14]—the problem with his implicit remedy of equal services was that it was no

[14] As noted, Judge Wright considered the fact that the Washington grouping scheme disadvantaged the poor and black as classes in tandem with the fact that the disadvantage occurred in the educational sphere and reached an equal protection requirement for rationality which was much tougher than that traditionally used by courts to scrutinize legislative distinctions between citizens. Some critics claim the higher standard is unwarranted; others claim it makes no sense. For an example of the latter point of view, see F. Michelman, "The Supreme Court, 1968 Term, Foreword: On Protecting the Poor through the Fourteenth Amendment," 83 Harvard Law Review 7 (1969).

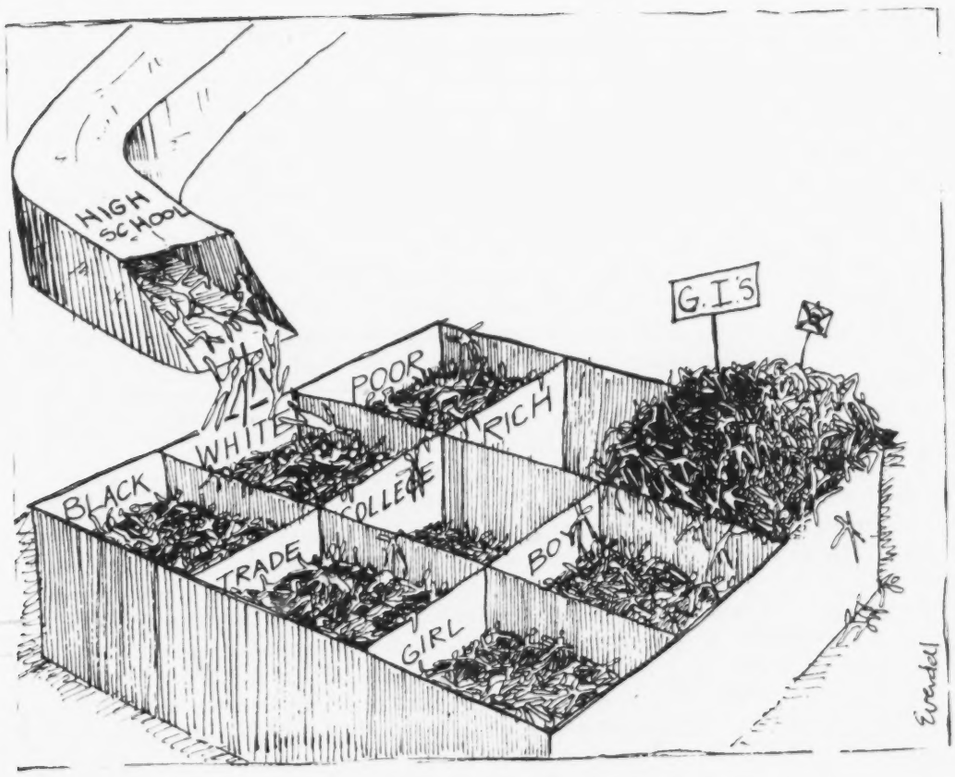
remedy at all. No alternative, short of abandonment of the idea of different services for different children, followed from the *Hobson* opinion.

What did emerge, however, were some negative standards, which suggests that courts may play an important function in circumscribing grouping options available to school administrators who feel that it is educationally necessary to make some kinds of distinctions between children. If *Hobson* did not say what would work, it did indicate what couldn't even be tried, namely grouping plans which tend to isolate poor and black children in lower tracks institutionally designed to offer less education than that given other groups in the same school system. Where such plans are tried, courts will presumably continue to give the wide latitude normally given to administrative actions, but will also require them to give some greater demonstration of the necessity of proceeding as they wish to, a demonstration of worth sufficiently compelling to overcome the harm worked by the systematic undereducation of the socially and racially segregated under track. Such a demonstration is hard to imagine.

Court involvement deeper than this may be foreclosed by the nature of judicial interventions themselves. The flexibility of a fluidly designed system which met individual needs and reflected individual preferences could only be hampered by a court ruling, necessarily prescriptive and rigid. Many of the most important ways in which children are harmfully classified are found either within the single classroom or occur as the result of other nonspecific institutional arrangements, such as neighborhood schools. A court-imposed remedy is particularly unsuited to reach practices within classrooms involving thousands of possible forms and relating to the most sensitive human situations. How do you order a teacher to expect more from his students? Would he obey? How would you know if he hadn't?

Changing the Rules

Beyond the institutional mismatch between a court of law and a set of infinitely variable classrooms, there is a further deeper problem with the thrust of equal protection approaches to differential educational services. It is the same problem that promises to make most of the tracking research irrelevant before it produces any hard results. Both equal protection and statistical analysis must accept the most fundamental operating assumptions of grouping schemes before either can apply whatever angle of vision is deemed relevant—be it resource input, educational output, or discriminatory individual level effects—to test the system's relative impact on different student groups.



Drawing by Coby Everdell/Old Mole. Reprinted by permission.

The major function of schools can be seen as that of allocating human resources for the larger society.

That is to say, the educational battle is lost from either the statistical or 14th amendment viewpoint before the logical war is begun. On a practical level, acceptance of the premises of the argument for ability grouping—that some children can absorb more education than others—leaves no room for proof to the contrary; the system is structured in a way to guarantee that result, no matter what the validity of the initial determination. On a theoretical level, both the statistician and the equal protectionist tend to focus their attention on the points of commonality between tracks for it is at these points that inequalities are most obvious. A change of focus to the principles around which the differentiations are built may be revealing. The emphasis on comparisons between programs can yield only a reduction in their differences. An emphasis on principles yields the insight that what the situation really demands is more differences, not just differences in quantity, but differences in approach, in measure of achievement, in the very definition of education. The failure to consider a broader range of alternatives in the principles on which differential programs are devised makes it highly improbable that any inquiry—judicial, scientific, or otherwise—will yield a better, more complete, and less restrictive way of organizing subunits.

Differential educational services within particular schools raise educational problems not because they are too different in quantity, but because they do not differ enough in quality. No one seriously doubts that diverse student populations need varied educational services. What is being questioned here is the notion that if one portion of geography is desirable for average students, then it follows that slow students should receive three-quarters of a portion while fast students should have one-and-a-quarter portions. But this is what will happen so long as variations in services are controlled by single institutions and guided by single, restrictively narrow achievement standards. The inevitable yield is differences in children ranging only from better to worse, from smart to dumb, from more educated to less educated.

Real differences in real children are far richer than the narrow range of skills that aptitude tests tap, far more varied than grouping on that basis can allow, and much more neutral with respect to the values one can legitimately attach to them than current school classification systems can structurally admit.

Others have approached the organizational implication of this issue implicitly in arguments advanced for the concept of resource specificity, the idea that different children need different resources, to achieve the same educational ends.[15] If this is true, then current grouping schemes are self-defeating and discriminatory.

Simplistically, children—and, at least in the early years, their parents—would be encouraged either to form their own educational units within their schools or to select others that were offered to them. Each child would bring to that unit a per capita entitlement which would be aggregated in that unit and expressed as the total dollar resources available to it. Compensatory funds would follow compensatory children. Advocate planners would provide compensatory political services to parents and children unaccustomed to manipulating the school

[15] See S. Michelson's articles in Inequality in Education No. 2, p. 4, and in this issue, p. 7.

environment to their own advantage. The subunits thus formed would then bargain with the central school administrator for the services they thought most appropriate to themselves. The process would culminate in a contract between the school and the subgroup describing the resources to be assigned and specifying the educational program to be pursued with them. In this context, the usual voucher system emerges as nothing more than an idiosyncratic method of bookkeeping which gives only purchasing power without granting the power of enforcement.

The scheme is not as farfetched as it first appears. Some schools in the north have begun to develop attenuated forms of it already in that subunits within them have been constructed around divergent educational principles. It involves a radical decentralization of the power to differentiate but alters neither the basic economics or structure of a single public school. It merely penetrates the heretofore monadic classroom. Consider the single classroom plus teacher as a school district for the purpose of delivering services. As a core unit which can be expanded or contracted as dictated by the program pursued the classroom as presently constituted is large enough to be economically independent. Teacher salaries consume 80 to 90 percent of the instructional budget in most systems. Since capital investment patterns are affected not at all, for more than 90 percent of its activities there will be no savings to the system as a whole in marrying one subunit to others. And the classroom has a special integrity as a control unit since most of the activities which make critical educational differences occur there.

In this system, academic achievement is relegated to the status of only one of many possible educational goals. Thus, the notion of relevant differences again expands and the points of relevant comparison further contract. Educational units which are the beneficiaries of resource specificity and which have the ability to vary their choice of resources on the basis of divergent goals will soon become as different as the proverbial apples and pears. But the range of differences in children is at least that great and so is the range of their preferences.

Equality would not become irrelevant or disappear from a system of subunits pursuing wildly different aims by wildly different means. The focus for discerning equality would simply shift away from the substance of educational resources to the power to purchase them, away from the output of the unit and toward the fairness of the process.

What Can Be Done Now?

The problems posed by differentiated educations for different children are political problems and tracking is a political solution. So too is the system suggested here.[16] It is not a system that will commend itself, to say the least, to either school personnel as an immediately worthwhile structural reform or to judges as a court-imposed remedy to specific institutional abuses in tracking schemes. But while waiting for this revolution in American education, lawyers can play a critical

[16] This system of collective bargaining for educational goods will be discussed in greater detail in a subsequent issue of this bulletin.

role in breaking down the current school practices which allow and even cause the abuses in current tracking schemes.

First, lawyers can police current grouping practices on their own terms, making sure that they operate in ways that are true to their own declared intentions and principles, thus building badly needed accountability into an allocation system that has never allowed for it. By acting as surrogates for power that may someday devolve on the subunits actually affected, lawyers can serve worthwhile notice on school administrators that the power to control the amount of education a child will be exposed to is not absolute. Arbitrary and sometimes punitive shifts in grouping assignments have definite legal implications. Children having nothing more than a personality conflict with their teacher are demoted to groups where provision of less education is expected to resolve that conflict, as though a disagreement with a teacher constituted resistance to being educated. Information about the way a particular school system make grouping decisions is rarely available to the public. Indeed, parents are rarely aware that the system is organized to provide more education to some children than to others; nor are they aware that their own children have been subject to such decisions; they are not aware because the system has made no effort to inform them. Such decisions are of critical interest to parents and children; if the school system chooses to channel children in these ways, then, at the very least, it should be required to make the process as open as possible. Lawyers can assert that right for parents and so begin to establish communication between the school and the parents while exposing one critical aspect of education to the light.

Lawyers can also move against those differentiating principles, such as aptitude tests, which inform the allocation process and without which compulsory tracking assignments could not be legitimated. Suits challenging the fairness of tests are both time consuming and complex. If recent attempts at attacking tests are any indication, there is little guarantee of successful judicial resolution of the complex legal issues they raise. But nothing else so chills the cockles of an administrator's heart as an attack on those tools which allow him to mete out different amounts of education to different children while at the same time absolving him of any personal responsibility for the decision. And nothing else so triggers the most deep-seated educational fears of black and poor families as a test—or, revealingly, a battery of tests—which they certainly never made and about which they have been told next to nothing.

A successful legal attack on either the grouping system as administered or the grouping system as conceived will not yield an educationally appropriate remedy. But it will not create a vacuum. More room to maneuver means more room for critically needed reform.

ABILITY GROUPING: DO'S AND DONT'S*

By Warren G. Findley and Miriam M. Bryan**

This article contains the major findings and recommendations of a study of ability grouping. The writers are associated with College of Education, University of Georgia. A more detailed report of the study is available from the Center for Educational Improvement College of Education, University of Georgia, Athens, Georgia 30601

Preliminary Statements

A. As used here, ability grouping is the practice of organizing classroom groups in a graded school to put together children of a given age and grade who have most nearly the same standing on measures or judgments of learning achievement or capability.

B. Grouping and regrouping within a classroom for instruction in particular subjects is an accepted and commended instructional practice. It is not to be considered ability grouping in the sense in which that term is used here.

C. Ability grouping may be based on a single test, on teacher judgment, or on a composite of several tests and/or judgments.

D. Ability grouping in a school district may take one of several forms, but chiefly one of four varieties:

1. Ability grouping of children in all school activities on the same basis.
2. Ability grouping for all learning of basic skills and knowledge on the same basis, but association with the generality of children of the same age in physical education and recreation.
3. Ability grouping for learning of basic academic skills and knowledge on the same basis, but association with the generality of children of the same grade in less academic activities, including physical education, art, music, and dramatics.
4. Ability grouping for learning of individual subjects or related subjects on different bases related to progress in mastering the different areas—for example, language arts versus mathematics—but association with the generality of children of the same grade in nonacademic areas. This has sometimes been referred to as "achievement grouping."

E. Ability grouping in the first grades, usually the first six or eight grades, is generally by assignment to single classroom teachers for instruction in most subjects.

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** Mrs. Miriam M. Bryan is a staff consultant of Educational Testing Service, Princeton, New Jersey. She was a member of the panel which planned the study, worked with Dr. Findley in the collection of data, and edited the materials included in the report. Warren G. Findley is Professor of Education and Psychology at the University of Georgia.

F. Ability grouping in the last grades, usually in junior and senior high school, is generally by assignment within programs of study—college preparatory, commercial, vocational, general.

G. At high school, assignment to a curriculum or program of study may be made a part of a social ability grouping program. On the other hand, ability grouping is often accomplished to a degree by a process of self-selection in which individual students choose their programs of study freely or with some regard to prerequisities. In essential respects, the difference between the two methods is analogous to the distinction between de jure and de facto segregation.

H. Ability grouping practices differ in the degree to which reclassification or reassignment is provided for. Practices vary from virtually no review to systematic review at specified intervals of years or more often.

I. Ability grouping may be limited to provision for extreme groups.

J. Special education for mentally retarded children is to be distinguished from general ability grouping, but needs to be considered a special case subject to examination and report here.

K. Provision of advance subjects for limited numbers of superior students is to be distinguished from ability grouping applied to all students of a grade group, but needs to be considered a special case subject to examination and report here.

Conclusions

1. Ability grouping is widely practiced in American school systems.

2. Ability grouping is especially characteristic of larger school systems.

3. Ability grouping is more common in higher grades than in earlier grades.

4. Homogeneous grouping by ability across the subjects of the school curriculum is impossible. Groups homogeneous in one field or subfield will prove heterogeneous in other fields. Thus, children grouped by reading scores or intelligence will overlap considerably in mathematics achievement.

5. Ability grouping is widely approved by school teachers and administrators.

6. Although unqualified approval of ability grouping is widespread among teachers, disproportionate numbers express preference for teaching mixed, average, or superior classroom groups over teaching lower-achieving groups.

7. Substantial educational research on streaming—homogeneous grouping—in England's schools indicates that the most detrimental effect is caused by assigning prostreaming teachers to nonstreamed classes. The generalization also applies to American schools.

8. Socioeconomic and social class differences are increased by streaming, reduced by nonstreaming.

9. Virtually all ability plans depend on tests of aptitude or achievement as an integral feature.

10. Ability grouping, as practiced, produces conflicting evidence of usefulness in promoting improved scholastic achievement in superior groups, and almost uniformly unfavorable evidence for promoting

scholastic achievement in average or low-achieving groups. Put another way, some studies offer positive evidence of effectiveness of ability grouping in promoting scholastic achievement in high-achieving groups; studies seldom show improved achievement in average or low-achieving groups.

11. The effect of ability grouping on the affective development of children is to reinforce (inflate?) favorable self-concepts of those assigned to high achievement groups, but also to reinforce unfavorable self-concepts in those assigned to low achievement groups.

12. Low self-concept operates against motivation for scholastic achievement in all individuals, but especially among those from lower socioeconomic backgrounds and minority groups.

13. Children from unfavorable socioeconomic backgrounds tend to score lower on tests and to be judged less accomplished by teachers than children from middle-class homes. This discrepancy is more marked as children grow older and approach adulthood.

14. The effect of grouping procedures is generally to put low achievers of all sorts together and deprive them of the stimulation of middle-class children as learning models and helpers.

15. Low achievers include many disruptive children who have failed to acquire constructive school attitudes as well as children with low and slow achievement patterns.

16. Children of many minority groups—Negro, Puerto Rican, Mexican American. Indian American—come disproportionately from lower socioeconomic backgrounds.

17. The source of disadvantage for some minority groups—Puerto Rican, Mexican American, Indian American—derives in part from the fact that teaching and testing in schools are usually entirely in English, which for them is a second language.

18. The language patterns of black and white children from lower socioeconomic backgrounds often differ so markedly from standard American as to make schooling in most schools involve language disability by such language standards. The circumstance has not only the direct effect of making learning more difficult. Indirect effects are also produced via lowered self-concept because of frequent corrections.

19. A fundamental generalization is that differences in socioeconomic backgrounds result in cumulative effects because of early acquired differences in ability to interact profitably with teachers who have middle-class habits and values. Middle-class children come to school prepared to respond to approval by teachers for their prior learning and readiness to respond. Disadvantaged children, especially boys, often have to unlearn assertive, unresponsive behavior in order to participate in a teaching-learning rapport in the classroom.

20. Desegregated classes have greater positive impact on school learning of socioeconomically disadvantaged children when the proportion of middle-class children in the group is highest. Conversely, when socioeconomically disadvantaged children are in the majority in a class, the effect of grouping is commonly to produce poorer achievement on their part.

21. Assignment to low achievement groups carries a stigma that is generally more debilitating than relatively poor achievement in heterogeneous groups.

22. A positive dynamic of all instructional programs is constructive stimulation, what J. McV. Hunt calls "the problem of the match"—some stimulation, but not too much, accompanied by supportive encouragement.

23. Formal education, or instruction, makes a difference in ultimate adult capability. How much difference education makes in comparison with other factors is a separate question which is essentially irrelevant.

24. Ability grouping practices are to be distinguished from each other in terms of their underlying strategies for dealing with initial differences among children and the cumulative effect of such differences.

25. Different ability grouping practices show different amounts of differential treatment given to different children after ability grouping has been done. The teaching strategies employed with those classified low often deny stimulation offered to those classified high on the criterion used in grouping. Elsewhere, all those classified in one group are thereafter taught as if almost identical in capability.

26. Of the patterns of ability grouping differentiated in Preliminary Statement D, type D4 generally involves more detailed diagnosis and specific instructional differentiation.

27. There are viable alternatives to ability grouping as means of furthering school learning, including stratified heterogeneous grouping, tutoring, team teaching, and individually programed instruction.

28. Planned heterogeneous grouping—notably the Baltimore plan of stratified heterogeneous grouping by tens—takes into account simultaneously the concern for curtailing extreme heterogeneity, while assuring enough diversity to give leadership opportunities in each class, providing thereby for stimulation of the less advanced by these leaders, and avoiding the concentration of defeated and stigmatized children in a bottom group almost impossible to inspire or teach.

29. Where older children, themselves academically retarded, are paid to tutor younger children who are having difficulty in learning to read in the elementary grades, both groups gain substantially. In fact, the older children gain even more than the younger ones being tutored. Similar findings apply to writing.

30. Teaching by teams of teachers with different responsibilities, under the leadership of coordinating master teachers, is a fundamental pattern in plans developed for training future elementary school teachers. Departmentalization of instruction may be considered a step in this direction.

31. Individualized instruction by prescription of sequences of learning experiences has been worked out for much of the learning of basic skills and structured knowledge.

32. All four of the above teaching-learning practices can be applied simultaneously. They are mutually compatible.

33. Early childhood education, whether designed to be compensatory or for all children, presents a further supplementary approach.

34. Residential segregation, in the form of concentrations of minority groups in cities and the moving of major groups to suburbs, plus the organization of private schools along ethnic lines, makes ethnic desegregation within many large cities almost meaningless.

35. The same may be said to a lesser degree of socioeconomic segregation without regard to ethnic distinctions

36. Ability grouping of the types described in Preliminary Statements D1–D3 has generally undesirable effects on learning and self-concept within like ethnic and socioeconomic groups, which are magnified when the correlated factors of ethnicity and socioeconomic status are involved.

37. Findings of the impact of ability grouping on classroom groups have implications for residential segregation and schooling tied to it. The issues underlying ability grouping and school desegregation are deeply embedded in our society and its culture. The matters reported here are integral parts of a larger social pattern, contributing to the perpetuation or change of that pattern, but largely determined by it.

RECOMMENDATIONS

1. Ability grouping of the types described in Preliminary Statements D1, D2, and D3 should not be used.

2. Ability grouping of the types described in Preliminary Statement D4 may be used to advantage where the information gained by testing and/or observation is the first step in a program of diagnosis and individualized instruction.

3. Provision should be made for frequent review of each individual's grouping status as part of the instructional program.

4. Tutoring, team teaching, individually programed instruction, and early childhood education should be explored and exploited for their usefulness in promoting learning.

5. The personality dynamics of the tutoring of younger children by older children, often of modest ability, should be explored and exploited.

6. Heterogeneous grouping in a classroom atmosphere of cooperation and helping, should be the rule except as indicated under recommendation 2.

7. Stratified heterogeneous grouping by tens, as practiced in Baltimore, should be utilized and refined.

8. Favorable self-concept should be a goal in itself, but it is also a supportive factor in learning. An attitude of firm confidence and hope by the teacher is fundamental. Techniques for conveying such an attitude can be learned.

9. Teacher training should include an emphasis on welcoming diversity in children, and teaching children to prize it in each other. A particularly important aspect of such diversity is with regard to language and customs of minority groups. Teachers therefore need preservice and/or inservice preparation in language habits and cultural heritages of minority groups to use as the basis for positive acceptance of all kinds of children into the classroom group.

10. Steps should be taken as early as possible in each local situation to promote unitary school populations in each district and each classroom. When a district or city has become almost completely a socioeconomically limited population, the possibility of effective desegregation and its constructive impact virtually disappears.

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SPECIAL REPORT

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
5 Forsyth Street, N.W., Atlanta 3, Georgia

10277

VOICES FROM THE SOUTH

Black students talk about their
experiences in desegregated schools.

By Betsy Fancher

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
August, 1970

Price: .50
Bulk: .40

Mrs. Betsy Fancher is an Atlanta free-lance writer and assistant editor of SOUTH TODAY, monthly publication of the Southern Regional Council's Leadership Education Project. Her report was prepared under the editorial direction of SRC's Research and Information Department.

INTRODUCTION

In 1968 the Southern Regional Council in concluding a Special Report "Lawlessness and Disorder: Fourteen Years of Failure in Southern School Desegregation," made this observation:

> As the summer of 1968 unfolded and a new school year approached, many Negroes, reflecting in varying degrees a concept of "black awareness," had come to feel that school desegregation is no longer a relevant issue. "Why don't whites ever transfer to our schools? Why should we be the ones to do all the sacrificing?" Some voice the attitude, too, that if "quality education" can be achieved in an all-Negro school, then why should Negro children suffer the pain, the estrangement, the cruelty they subject themselves to in desegregating a "previously all-white school." "Separate but equal" never achieved when it was the law of the land, becomes now a sour goal of the disappointed, the disillusioned and the betrayed.

Two years later what was then a sounding of discontent heard in a few isolated localities has become a major concern to black and white leaders across the South who are committed to ending the South's dual school system.

To get some feel of what black students in the region are thinking the Southern Regional Council in July sent Mrs. Betsy Fancher to four communities in which school desegregation has been at times traumatic. We do not

assert that the conversations which she records represent the definitive view of all Negro students in the South. They are in many ways contradictory. Some are extreme, some rhetorical, some moderate and conciliatory. Underlying all is a degree of disillusion with school integration on terms which the students see as having shattered not only their identity as black people, but as human beings. Separatist views, lack of faith in the democratic process are often articulated. Such comments it should be noted come most often from those whose experiences in desegregated situations have been the most bitter. What seems most evident from all their comments is that black youth in the South will no longer play a passive role in decisions affecting their lives and futures. As the 1970 school year approached this was a fact of life that all involved in the process of school desegregation needed to understand: Sixteen years of social upheaval, of an evolving body of law designed to end dual schools, dual societies have brought school integration to the point of being a reality, a personal one-to-one reality, involving conflicts with origins deep in old and false preconceptions, involving give and take, true human relations. The traumas of the experience are real on both sides. It would take toughness of spirit and mind, wisdom and patience for leaders, black and white, to search for solutions to the problems that the students here raise.

Robert E. Anderson, Jr.
Southern Regional Council, Inc.

In a student center on Mobile's teeming, neon blurred Davis Street, a young black high school student stood under a blazing African mural and scoffed at the whole idea of integration. "They treat us like dogs," he said of his predominantly white high school. "Integration won't work. It hasn't and it won't. You ought to hear my principal call me nigger."

In Greenville, South Carolina, another black high school student, describing his experiences in a desegregated situation, puts it differently: "Integration of students is a good thing, if it can work. It just has to work."

Between the bitter negativism of the first comment and the cautious optimism of the latter may lie the attitudes of most black high school students in the South of 1970. Their attitudes seem crucial as this year's school term begins, when according to the Justice Department some 97 per cent of the South's black students will be attending schools with whites. (The figure is disputed by civil rights advocates and it doubtless is vastly inflated, but all signs do indicate significant percentage increases.)

The 1970 school year is expected to be traumatic. Last year federal action effectively slowed down school desegregation in many localities, putting off crucial integration decisions until September 1970. Paul Rilling, former Southeastern regional civil rights director of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, recently described last year's school desegregation procedures this way:

> In the process of capitulation to segregationist pressures a year ago, the administration put everything possible off -- until September, 1970. In asking the courts for delays last year, the Justice Department attorneys state that total desegregation should take place -- in September, 1970. The plans accepted from Southern districts a year ago gave unnecessary delays and provided minimum progress for last year, but without exception they provide for complete desegregation -- in September, 1970. Not one plan has been accepted yet which permits a delay beyond September, 1970.*

An estimated 400,000 white children have fled to new private segregation academies, accompanied by thousands of white public school teachers and in some cases public school equipment. According to testimony by Reese Cleghorn, director of the Southern Regional Council's Leadership Education Project, before Senator Walter Mondale's Select Committee on Equal Educational Opportunity, the number of

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* South Today, June 1970.

private schools more than doubled between 1954 and 1967 in deep South states. Some 168 new private schools are known to have been established between 1964 and 1967 in Alabama, Florida, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina and South Carolina, he testified. Their most important supporters: The Citizens Councils of America and the South Carolina Independent School Association, he told the Committee. Testifying before the same committee Miss Winifred Green, director of the Southeastern Public Education Program of the American Friends Service Committee, pointed out that since September, 1969 the number of all-white private schools has increased from 35 to 100 in Mississippi. And Jackson, which recently defeated a 7 million dollar bond issue, has seven new private schools due to open in September of 1970.

The committee heard reports that books, microscopes, desks, and even whole school buildings were disappearing from Southern schools only to reappear in new, all-white segregation academies. One North Carolina district even turned over public school buildings to new private schools for $1 a year.

White school boards still control desegregated schools;

The result: wide scale firing of black teachers. In one Mississippi school (Starkville), Rims Barber of the Delta Ministry reported as many as 55 per cent of the black teachers fired, and percentages ranging from 23 to 40 per cent were fired in nine other Mississippi schools.

Officials of the National Educational Association testified before the committee that 5,000 black principals and teachers in Southern schools have been either dismissed or demoted because of desegregation, and often replaced by less qualified whites.

Miss Green painted a bleak picture of the problems faced by many black students in newly integrated schools. "In some districts, classes are segregated. Testing and tracking are used to segregate within the school. There are moves to force out black high school students by the use of stricter rules. These students should be described as push outs and not drop outs," she said.

In Dekalb High School in Kemper County, Mississippi, some 108 blacks, all tenth graders, attend all-black classes in a wing of the red brick school building separate from the 190 whites, testified Miss Green. "The blacks ride to and from school in buses driven by blacks, eat lunch

only with blacks and do their homework in an all-black study hall. Black teachers teach only black children. White teachers teach whites."

Five black students testifying before the same committee described the "internal segregation" they had encountered at integrated schools, practices which included separate classrooms, separate lunch and gym periods and separate bells so that blacks and whites do not use the hall at the same time. Buses pick up blacks at 5:30 a. m. in one Louisiana parish so that white students can ride separately. Tyrone Thomas, of Mobile, Ala., told the committee that in his integrated high school black football players carry the ball to "about the 99 yard line," where a white player is substituted to score the touchdown. The students also testified that some Southern schools refused to admit Negro members to all-white student councils, that Afro hair cuts and dress were banned, and that black students were excluded from many school activities.

Observing the student's new militancy, their growing contempt for "white rules" and "white standards," Mrs. Ruby Martin, a former director of the Office of Civil Rights who brought them to Washington said: "It is clear to me

that we can expect problems this fall in integrated schools unlike any we have ever experienced."

Were these students just a bitter, vocal minority? Or did they represent a new wave of militancy, a militancy born out of the painful disillusionment of black students with the great experiment of integration? To find the answer to this and other urgent questions posed by integration, the Southern Regional Council interviewed students in four Southern communities about their school experiences. The communities were widely diverse. Mobile is a teeming port city which voted heavily for George Wallace and whose school integration has been stymied since 1963 by a court case (Davis vs. Board of School Commissioners of Mobile County), a case which has been appealed to the fifth circuit nine times while the city maintained a dual system and students who elected to use free choice were designated "non conformist" and were not officially enrolled in school nor officially given grades. Charlotte, N. C. is a burgeoning, sophisticated city where the hotly debated Charlotte-Mecklenburg County school desegregation case, which could allow for total integration and busing was being watched by the entire nation this summer as the decisive case in the future of school

integration. Greenville is a quiet, pretty little city justly proud of having peacefully achieved an 80--20 ratio in its schools last February. Historic Beaufort, with its columned manses and bleak slums is preparing to integrate its schools in September under an HEW approved plan which is violently opposed by the local blacks. To date Beaufort's schools have operated on a Freedom of Choice basis but only a half dozen white students have elected to go to black schools.

These communities have one thing in common. Each one is the scene of an emotion charged drama of school integration, a drama which involves school board members, principals, teachers and students, a drama which presages the historic conflicts which this fall could bring.

BEAUFORT, SOUTH CAROLINA: "THE PAIN IS STILL THERE."

This summer, the visitor to moss-shrouded Beaufort and its surrounding islands feels as did abolitionist Austa French when she first approached the area by sea in the early days of the Civil War. "There steals over you the feeling that you are passing under a great cloud of accumulated wrongs, in which you seem mysteriously implicated, the vague feeling that you have done something awful somewhere in the dim past. . .Slavery is written upon the shore, the trees, the sky, the air. . .the enormous black hawks with their screams seem to be its very spirit. No wonder they 'caw, caw' over this land -- mean vultures, waiting for blood."

The vultures still caw over Port Royal Sound and though slavery was abolished over a century ago, the Beaufort blacks still suffer a deep sense of oppression. Right now it is focused on the issue of school integration, on the fact that grades ten through twelve of two all black high schools, St. Helena and Robert Smalls will be bused this fall to predominantly white Beaufort High School which will be holding double sessions until another high school can be built in the area. School Superintendent Walter Trammel

explains that the busing plan was adopted because Beaufort High had the best facilities. He neglected to add that it is the only accredited high school in the area, that Robert Smalls is flanked by a public dumping area and that conditions at St. Helena are so bad that two Vista workers have been sent in to work with the students.

Nevertheless, the black students love their schools and are adamant about being bused to Beaufort High. "They are very angry," says Andrew Marrisett, a field worker for the American Friends Service Committee, stationed near Beaufort at Frogmore. "They want to know why aren't the white kids being bused from Beaufort High to St. Helena's and Robert Smalls. They have a special feeling for their schools. Robert Smalls was a slave who stole a gunboat and went to the aid of Union Forces during the siege of Hilton Head Island. He later served in the South Carolina legislature and the U. S. Congress and he is one of black Beaufort's heros. They are proud of the name of their school and they don't want to see it changed. They don't want to leave their friends in the lower grades. I do think they'll try a boycott to protest double sessions. I would support the boycott, in fact I'd lead it. But I do see an inkling of

violence. All I can tell you now is we're waiting for September."

John Gadsden, of Penn Community Center, is frankly cynical about the plan. "I still don't believe when September comes there'll be 'massive' integration. We've had South Carolina decisions before. We've had troops before. I don't believe we'll see the total elimination of the dual school system."

"But we are moving a lot of bodies around," says Frieda Mitchell, one of two black members of the Beaufort school board. She does not believe the boycott will develop. "Most people don't like the idea of keeping kids out of school," she says. As for the busing: "They're being bused because they're black," she says flatly. As the mother of a daughter who went to Beaufort High as one of the first freedom of choice students, she believes she "fared better than most. There was a constant influx of military people and the parents were more broadminded. There was only one incident of violence, when a white boy hit a black with a broken bottle. Things were not bad, but Karen went back to a black school. She said she couldn't participate as much, her grades went down and

there was the problem of identity, of a black kid trying to blend in with whites."

But let Karen describe her experience:

> I was spat on, hit with an ink well, with spit balls. I got to the point where I didn't consider some of those I went to school with human. You could see some blacks pretending they had great rapport, but I never saw that, I never saw true communication between human beings. The other students were like machines being controlled by a master switch. They were like puppets on a string, products of their environment, hostile. There was one teacher, one English teacher who was truthful and honest, one human being in my four years. That whole school was strange. In history, for instance, the way they talked about the whole Civil War scene and the role of black people. And whenever you brought up Viet Nam or the Black Panthers, anything relevant, they'd say let's not get too involved. I'm not interested in black schools or white schools, I want a better education, an education relevant to students in the 20th century. I copped out. I used to make lousy grades, but they never discussed anything I wanted to discuss, anything controversial and contemporary. I was completely alienated for four years.

At Beaufort High she got in trouble only once -- for failing to pledge allegience to the flag. "That's as big a crime as saying you're going to assassinate the president. . . .'with liberty and justice for all.' Can you see me saying that. 'With liberty and justice for all.' Me being black and American and in the South. Nobody needs to lie. There should be nobody you fear enough to lie to. 'One nation under God.' That's a joke in itself. They can

shoot me down whenever they like but God won't see that."

Karen briefly tried a private school in New England after leaving Beaufort High -- "it was just as unreal, being another token black person" -- and then came back to Robert Smalls. "It was more real, more relevant to me and my community. I was alienated at Beaufort High because I was black and I was there. But at Robert Smalls I could relate to masses of black people. I valued this more than I valued integration."

She had lost all faith in integration when she was asked to go to Washington to testify before the Mondale Committee. "By then I had passed the point of frustration. I had been so humiliated. I thought I was in a nightmare. I thought there's no sense in talking to anybody. It's not going to help. These liberals think integration is going to break down social and legislative barriers. It barely breaks down legal barriers. And then this Commissioner Allen, you know this U. S. Commissioner on Civil Rights, we talked to him, told him some of this, about how the coaches would send a white kid in at the 99 yard line to take the ball away from the black kid, about how black kids were kept out in the rain, how one was permanently expelled.

And the next day he gets fired."

The firing confirmed Karen's conviction that integration is in fact a hoax, that "segregation is a conspiracy between the Federal and local governments. The Federal government puts all the money and the tools in the hands of local school boards who oppose integration." Karen Hawkins stopped smoking in Washington. "My heart started getting heavy," she says, "I had a pain deep in my chest. I thought it was cigarettes and I gave them up, but the pain is still there."

How do other black students feel about entering predominantly white Beaufort High? Miss Arthur Mae Cohen, has completed her junior year at St. Helena school where she was secretary of the student council and a member of a student government committee organized by the Beaufort County School Superintendent to work out plans for desegregation of the school district this fall.

"They should have zoned us. Instead we have massive busing and double sessions," she says bitterly. "But a majority of whites live in the area of Robert Smalls (a black school); that's why we weren't zoned. It's always black people who are bused to white schools. The white

administrators think their kids are too good to go to black schools. The white man feels the black man is not good enough to be where he is. That's the truth of it. The kids on Fripp Island are bused past our schools to private schools. They think we're not sanitary. White people get married in white dresses and go to funerals in black dresses. They think white is pure and black isn't. That's how the white man feels."

Miss Cohen believes Robert Smalls and St. Helena should have been upgraded and that students should remain there. She admits St. Helena's needed new lab equipment, new desks, and a refurbished cafeteria, but it was her school and she loved it. She especially liked the Afro-American Club which was a black history study group. She is going reluctantly to Beaufort High.

MOBILE, ALABAMA: OF DISILLUSION AND A MEASURE OF FAITH

In Mobile, where NOW, a militant black organization and STAND a white supremicist group, have both made heated pronouncements on integration, racial tension has erupted in a series of unexplained bombings and shootings this summer. School desegregation has had a long and tortured history in the port city. Black students have protested the fact that when they elected to use free choice, they were designated "non-comformist" and neither officially enrolled in school nor officially given grades. Black students have been "suspended, intimidated, harassed and jailed," according to Miss Green's testimony before the Mondale Committee. "This situation and surrounding circumstances -- students jailed, threats on the lives of the leaders of the movement, complete unresponsiveness of a school board to the desires of the black community -- makes one understand why the black community might enthusiastically endorse any alternative to this continued method of desegregation," she told the committee.

Mobile students have seen integration blocked nine times, most dramatically in 1968 when, on the eve of massive

desegregation, some 10,000 members of the newly formed STAND opposed a mandate of the Fifth Circuit court and won yet another year under freedom-of-choice. In August, 1969 the judge in the Southern District of Alabama granted a delay in the implementation of an HEW school desegregation plan that left approximately 5,500 blacks in all-black schools. Mobile now has a new plan that almost doubles the number of black students left in all-black schools.

It has been received with angry cynicism by a group of black parents who have formed a separatist organization, STEP (Steps Toward Educational Progress) initiated by Roy Innis, director of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) to push for two racially determined school districts, the black district under black control. Innis, who earlier had discussed the plan with four Southern governors, has met several times with high ranking officials of the Justice Department one of whom is reported to have suggested Mobile as a test city for his "separate but equal" proposal.

The young people have also formed an activist organization, the United Student Action Movement of Mobile. Their Davis St. center, stocked with African literature and emblazoned with African murals, serves as a "center for

the advancement of Black awareness," a center for tutoring, recreation, organizing and legal aid. Says their prospectus:

> Every time we have taken any action we have been harassed, intimidated, suspended from school, and jailed. Everyday we see our Black brothers and sisters getting their heads beat by cops, store owners, etc. We are sick of it, and must have full time legal help to defend ourselves and to try to put a stop to the endless brutalization of the Black man in Mobile. Legal aid is essential for the organization of an effective center.

The group has led boycotts and demonstrations to protest segregation, inadequate school facilities, the lack of black history courses, and the use of the word "nigger" by teachers. They have confronted the school board with their suggestions, forced it to readmit a black student who was suspended because of his beard, organized Vietnam Moratorium programs and held dances to raise funds for white teachers who supported their boycotts.

What are their feelings about integration? What are their attitudes toward whites? How do they view the democratic process and the viability of working through the system? What can we anticipate when school opens? How do they feel about the quality of education they are receiving? Do they favor black control of black schools? If so do they see this as different from the old "separate but equal" doctrine?

Are they totally negative about the possibility of black-white cooperation?

These questions were put to a group of Mobile high school students, members of the United Student Action Movement, all of them, by the Southern Regional Council this July. The students queried included Tyrone Thomas and Herbert Patterson of Vigor High School, Gary Smith, of Toulminville High, Dora Finley, who will enter Springhill College this fall, Vincent Washington, of Blount High School, Anita Showers, of the University of South Alabama and Joycelyn Finley of Bishop Toolen High School.

The long years of court battles, sporadic violence and racial tension have taken their toll. But listen to them discuss it.

---Integration? It's no good.

---It don't mean a thing to me.

---Well, this is the way I see it -- we know integration (I should say desegregation -- the court always uses that word) desegregation has been going on for a long time now. That's why black folks have thirteen shades of color. But integration is playing out, it's played out. In Mobile integration just won't work because

when we go to a white school they treat us like some dog. We never get to be the officers of the class so we'd rather just stay in our own schools.

---I think its an impossibility at this time. How can you have integration when the white man is on the top of the pole? He controls everthing, he's the head of everything and he owns the power structure and we're at the bottom of the pole. We aren't equal in the white man's eyesight. He sees us as inferior and a lot of black people see themselves as inferior so I see a need for black people to have their own school districts and when the white man sees we can control our own money and our own power maybe then we can come together.

---I don't believe it's the time yet. Black folks will have to get themselves together and share their ideas and white folks have to get themselves together -- when we have all white and all black schools and have shared all our ideas, that's when we can both come together.

So far integration has meant only humiliation, oppression and a loss of identity to these black students. They can't conceive of it working until black people control "their

own money and their own schools and their own school districts."

---Right now the white man feels the black man can't control his own money, his own resources in the community. If we have the chance to show the power structure that we can control our own schools, our own money while they control theirs then we can come together. But you have to be true to yourself.

---I say let's start separatism. As it is now, it's the white man who controls the dollar.

---Black folks don't even control the little money that's coming into our schools now and its never been separate but equal because the white man always controls the money. Now if the black man can control the money and can control what should be put into that black school, black students would be aware of their identity. As it is today we're not even aware of our identity. The only way we can be aware is by all the black folks being together and teaching each other their identity. If we're in an integrated school, the white man hires the teachers.

---We know we have some brilliant black teachers

in Mobile today. But when they got the so called integration thing together they took them out to the white schools to let them teach them. They never did what you call integrate. They only integrated the teachers.

The students contended that black students could never prove themselves in integrated classrooms because they could never win the vote for student council, cheer leader and other offices. The black student who did win an office, they said, was invariably the one with the straightest hair. But all-black Central High was raided for football players who are now scoring touchdowns for two predominantly white schools. On the whole, they believe white schools rob students of their identity and make them feel inferior. They express it this way:

---Okay, the teacher looks at him in the morning, one little black kid, and to make him feel good he says "good morning" to him and says nothing to the little white folks and that's turning the white folks against him and at the same time it's making him feel inferior. He be walking down the hall and they look at him and he is dressed one way and they are dressed another

way and he has to go back and dress like them. He can't wear his afro in a white school. There are rules at Mercy and other schools that black people cannot wear Afros, cannot wear beards and dashikis. Your hair has to be not over so many inches, you can't wear dashikis unless its tucked in you pants.

---You can't take a black student out of a black school where he has been all of his life and throw him in a white school for one semester and expect him to pass. You can't do that, you've got to give him a chance to adapt to the white man's way. Anyway you'll turn him white, white, white. Teachers are turning children white because they have to adapt to the white man's way, not our way. But if we controlled our money them we wouldn't have to adapt to the white man. It all stems from money and I'm sorry it does.

How do they feel about the quality of education they are now getting?

---I don't think we are getting an education, period. Because if we had been getting an education, we wouldn't have prejudiced teachers. Over in Murphy, teachers are prejudiced. In the black school, I got a "B", but

then over in the white school, I got a "E" in Algebra and I was flunking. This has happened to a lot of the Mobile students when they switch over from a black to a white school. Their grades were good at the black school, but when they got over to the white, their grades were lowered. If they got an "A" in the black school and an "E" or "D" in the white school they were flunked. Going by the white man's way, that should have averaged out to a "C" or "D" at the most. But these students got flat "E"s which means they have to go to summer school. If you go to a black school half of your life and they send you over to this white school, you got to adapt to this and this is not right.

They sneered at the pattern of integration in Mobile. Freedom of choice had been a farce, they said. To them it meant simply this:

---It was something the judge came up with to avoid integration. What they meant was that black schools are already so bad, so low down and raggedy no white folks are going to come to them. Okay, and then they knew that black folks weren't going to walk another

five miles to go to a white school. What they are doing now is closing down Central High and they're sending the better black students to white high schools and those from the real ghettos to the bad schools. You see what they're saying is since we got to do it then we just send the better black students.

The students favor Roy Innis' two district separatist plan. They spoke bitterly of the present school board and the fact that one of its former members was a leader in the unltraconservative STAND group that fought desegregation. But what's going to prevent old line conservative black leaders from controlling the board of the black school district?

---Because young folks will be the ones to do the voting.

---If we feel they are mistreating us like the white man was mistreating us then we just walk out of the school, you see. We walk out until they put somebody up there to do it right. At Dunbar fifteen of us walked out in April and started throwing bricks and the next day 700 students walked out. The only ones who didn't walk out were still controlled by the white

man, they were still living in the slums and ghettos and ditches.

The students were asked if they would favor a completely integrated school system under a completely integrated school board. The answer was, no.

---It still would not work, because white people would still have money and would still feel superior. If there were 250 here and 250 there, it still would not work. Because people are still not ready. Just like the white people say. White and black are not ready.

But what they mean by "ready" does not have the presumption of racial inferiority that whites give the term.

---This is when we can get along by ourselves. When will this happen? When they find out they need us. I can tell you when they like to found it out, when the buses went on strike, when the white folks' dishes were beginning to pile up. They got to realize that we can come together. But right now whites are not going to give us a fair share. If black schools get one million dollars, whites will get two million. And the million the black folks get will be controlled by

the whites.

Do they have any faith at all in the democratic process? Here's how they view it:

---You mean that all men were created equal? I don't believe this because when Thomas Jefferson wrote it he did not intend it for the black man because black men were rated not as men but as maybe one quarter human or equal to a horse or a cow. Historically, it was not intended for the black man.

---Here is what the system offers: using the constitutional rights, going to court, getting bogged down. That is just what we were doing and getting nothing. As long as you have a racist judge and a racist lawyer and a racist President along with his cousin, George Wallace working through the system is like working through hell. The only way we can survive, and the only way we can have our own system is to make white people listen through violence.

---I'll put it this way. We can hand the white man rough stuff. Black folk will be slaughtered in the streets. I know the white man will not sell you bullets to kill him in the streets. All right, what I am

saying is that the revolution, the bloody revolution will not win. But it will bring freedom to the black people of the United States. I say if we die, let us die for something. I don't care. A lot of other people don't care if they die or not, we are not getting anywhere nohow. So if we die, so what? A lot of them don't care if they die. So after the revolution, then maybe people can get together, then we will see. When people are pressed and everthing else, people get tired of this and the only way out is to burn all of the buildings down. Since the white man has all of the money and owns the buildings, he will have to build something better. It's got to come out of his pocket and that's a revolution.

What are they expecting when school opens this fall? The answer comes in a chorus. CHAOS.

The next day Tyrone Thomas showed a reporter from the Southern Regional Council a black school (its lab and shop facilities were woefully inadequate) and his own alma mater, Vigor High School. Summer school was in session and the rambling, well equipped buildings were bustling with students. Tyrone tried to see the principal, Mr. Styles, and was told

he was busy. Minutes later Mr. Styles appeared, flailing the air with both fists, ordering Tyrone off the school grounds, threatening to have him arrested, promising him a two year sentence. The youth who intends to study for the ministry, left without a word.

"Why are you coming back here next fall," he was asked. His reply seemed at once to belie the cyncism he had earlier expressed and to affirm a faith that perhaps he himself did not realize he still had.

"I'm coming because it may do some good."

CHARLOTTE, N. C. -- INTEGRATION IS WORTH THE TRAUMA

In Charlotte this July, Federal Judge James D. McMillan was considering four plans for elementary school desegregation -- The Finger plan, submitted by court consultant Dr. John A. Finger of Rhode Island College which called for wide scale busing of students to achieve almost total desegregation; an HEW plan which proposed clustering of schools to achieve a measure of integration; a plan submitted by the majority of the school board which would employ gerrymandering to integrate junior and senior high schools and would leave 17 all-white elementary schools and ten all-black elementary schools; and a minority school board plan which would allow for more integration.

(Secondary schools are due to open in the fall under an earlier order that requires busing some pupils to desegregate the city's last all-black high schools and increase the number of Negro pupils in predominantly white schools.)

In ruling on the case in early August, Judge McMillan gave the school board the option of implementing portions of the Finger plan, the HEW plan and the minority school board plan. The most important element he said was to bring about desegregation of the schools. His ruling was being appealed by the school board to the U. S. Supreme

Court. The high court's ruling in the Charlotte-Mecklenberg case is expected to define the meaning of a unitary system.

Earlier the Finger plan, which had gained wide support among civil rights advocates, was under attack from the all-white Concerned Parents Association which mailed pamphlets to 60,000 parents of school children urging them to flood school board chairman William E. Poe with telegrams in opposition to the plan. The organization vowed it would lead a boycott of public schools if desegregation requires assigning children to schools on the basis of race or busing them out of their neighborhoods. Their stand has provoked a bitter reaction among Charlotte's black youngsters. "The concerned KKK of America" the black students call the organization. "Yes, they're concerned for their children stepping up and sitting on a bus with a black kid," scoffed one Charlotte teenager.

In a pleasant living room in a black neighborhood this summer three students met to discuss it. They were Cornelia Graham, Bobby Graham and Judy Hunter, all recent graduates of integrated Harding High School. With them was a former teacher, Miss Shirley Moore.

---You don't need violence to get what you want. I won't scratch my kids for nothing.

---Whites have a lot to learn from association

with us. It's better if they learn early. The blacks need it too. I know too many blacks who say they hate all white people. Integration is good.

Do they equate integration with equal opportunity?

---Yes, if it can be black and white together in the same facilities.

But couldn't they get the same opportunity from good black schools?

---The school board isn't going to put money into black schools.

---Integration is worth the trauma. You know you are achieving, you're getting somewhere, you see some light, some hope. You can prove to the white man that the black man can comprehend. No man knows prejudice like a black man. He don't know how it is to sit in back of the bus or not be able to walk in this store.

How do they feel about the Finger plan?

---I'm against busing elementary kids across town. The white concerned parent is concerned for his kid and we're concerned for all.

---There's no school in this system where my child will have any importance, any power. If there's got to be integration I'd like to see

> the white people suffer, let'em all feel the pinch and the pain.
>
> ---Busing is old to us. We've always been bused. We've been bused past white schools to black. You can learn something on the bus.

Integration has closed some black schools for which they feel a deep loyalty. Among them is Second Ward, which was closed last year after an integration suit, a move bitterly opposed by the students. Judy would have been Valedictorian there this year. She wonders wistfully what has happened to the Second Ward trophy case, to all the symbols of black achievement in the school. She herself, transferred to predominantly white Harding, felt "like a vegetable, like something just thrown in." And next year she is going to a black college, "to be with my own kind again." And yet they agreed with Cornelia when she said:

> ---I believe integration has to work. If the parents and adults would stay out of it and let the kids work it out. It's the only way to advance. How are we going to change? Through education in the white man's way. The power lies in his hands. We have no power but the few jobs they throw blacks. I want the best and the best is not in black schools.

70-479 O - 72 - pt. 20 - 11

Why don't they live an entirely black life?
---We've tried militancy and black power. We've been living a black life. The only thing we have as a whole is religion. The black man worships the white man's god. We don't have the power, the equipment, the training. If only the power structure would see people as people. But we are masses. Masses of color. It'll take a tragedy to change things, a terrible tragedy.
---How do you get power? Violence. You're so afraid we're going to overpower you that you won't give us any learning. You took us into captivity, you gave us names. You set us free. No, you didn't set us free. We set ourselves free. It started with the black man and it'll end with the black man.
---It'll end with a terrible tragedy.

Miss Shirley Moore, a former teacher in an all-black school in Charlotte found her students so paralyzed by the prevailing climate that she finally retired from teaching to work at an employment agency. She speaks out of years of bitter frustration:

"My students had lost all desire to learn. They'd just say, "why bother?" They felt, "what's the point?" A lot of them were getting militant. We lost our best

minds to militancy. The majority were failing. They'd been defeated before they could start. You've got so much in you to give, you want to help your race grow intellectually. How could I get these children to understand that if you have anything whitey can use he'll buy it? This is the white man's world. The Indian was too slow to learn this. If they'd learned they would have survived. I can't stand to watch our young people shouting riot, black militancy and violence. I don't want anything because I'm black. Being black isn't excuse enough or reason enough. It got so bad I started taking tranquilizers. I lost my drive, my initiative, even the sense of my own knowledge. That's when I got out.

GREENVILLE, S. C.: A "MODEL" CITY, BUT "WE NEED SO MANY THINGS."

On February 17 of this year, Greenville, S. C. achieved total integration--"with style and grace" the Chamber of Commerce boasted--less than a month after the Fourth U. S. Circuit Court of Appeals ruled that the district must create a unitary school system immediately. One element of the community's acceptance of integration undoubtably was the fact that the district has an 80 white to 20 per cent black ratio. Another was the positive, aggressive leadership of Governor Robert E. McNair and Mayor R. Cooper White according to Dr. Ernest Harrill, a Furman University professor who chaired a citizens committee helping with the transition. "They created a climate of stability," he said. Also, according to Chamber of Commerce vice president, Gerald Bartles, the black community provided strong leadership. "They didn't like the school board plan but they stood up for support of the public schools."

There was dissent. Negroes in the Greenville area complained that they were bearing the whole burden for desegregation, that some Negro schools were being closed and that needed repairs were done only when whites were transferred into the schools. And a number of white

parents groups were formed, one of which urged a county wide school boycott. But on the whole the Chamber of Commerce had a right to boast. The white students at Greenville's Wade Hampton High, who erected banners welcoming the 300 blacks who joined them under court order, became a national symbol of racial harmony. How do those students feel today? Fifteen of them came together one July day at Christ Church School where they are enrolled in a tutorial program, sponsored by the Greenville Education Committee aimed at motivating disadvantaged blacks. Its effectiveness can be measured by its alumnae who include, among dozens of successful college students, writer Joan Frances Bennett, Barnard student and author of a poignant autobiography, "Members of the Class Will Keep Daily Journals." The students interviewed included Linda Massey, Janice Dillard, Brian Porter, Lynette Moore, Cheretta Sayles, Pamela McSelvey, Raul Thomas, Elaine Cannon, Morris Garett, Janice Harrison, Heyward Holloway, and David Pendarvis. They are enthusiastic about the unstructured and innovative program at Christ Church School but they are deeply critical of the public school system, of testing and guidance methods, of the system of social promotion, of the educational establishment, both black and white, and of integration as it is presently being carried out. Listen as they discuss their own recent experiences with integration:

---Integration of students is a good thing, if it can work. It just has to work. But one thing I don't think is too fair, some of the black schools weren't too well equipped. So before they made the change, they went around to the Negro schools painting them up for the white children. If the black schools were not right in the first place, then how come they built them like that? If Nickletown didn't have a sidewalk, why didn't they put a sidewalk there (in the first place) and if Sulton's playground wasn't paved, why hadn't they paved it?

---Sterling High is pretty worn out so they didn't send any white students there. If the blacks were good enough to go in the building, the whites are good enough to go in it too. If it is so bad the whites couldn't go in there, they should not have had students in there at all.

---The school board took advantage of the black community. Some of the black schools were just as well equipped and some of the white children should have been displaced like the black children were. We shouldn't have had to bear all the burden.

---It's not fair for the smallest children to go all the way across town to school. For the older kids it's not too bad.

---For the younger children it's bad. They're not use to it. The bad thing is it's only happening to the blacks.

---The black schools were in good condition but they were minus some things they had in the white schools, Bunson burners for instance in the chemistry labs. It's not that these things weren't asked for, we asked for them but we didn't get them.

---Another thing, the white schools had a whole set of different books, new math books, science books and things that are all up to date. In our school in the 6th grade we had a Social Studies book published in 1964 and when integration comes around they think that white children are going to get behind so they put in new books published in 1970. And all that time we'd had those old books and were getting behind.

---A lot of people fail in their grades because some whites come over and they be kind of bad and some try to be like them. You get hooked up with them. You know they are doing the wrong things, but yet still you follow behind them.

> If they had teachers who are really committed to really teaching children, I think these kids can learn and integration can work.
> ---When integration occurs, we must adapt to a change because we are in a new environment. I don't think I adapted very quickly to the changeover because when I came over to this school I had an "A" and my grade dropped to a "D". The class was noisy and loud, I was not able to adapt to this environment. I had to work on it.

At least one student thought his predominantly white school was not nearly as good as his former all black school. He complained that it is an old school, that the teachers were old and prejudiced. "I feel most of them have not been able to cope with black people," he said. Others accused their white teachers of deliberately lowering their grades. Said one: "I found that students that were making C's went down to D's and students who were making A's went down to B's. The teachers were never satisfied. They would always find fault in our papers. We could never write a perfect paper. They would always find fault in them.

Many students resented being forced to change schools. "I don't think you can do a good job if you are going to a school you don't want to go to," said one. Another disagreed. "I am not saying that I am getting a better edu-

cation now than at the school I went to first, which was a black school. I don't see any difference. Going to school is just one job and that is to get an education.

The students were deeply troubled by reports of black students carrying knives at some integrated schools and of lowered morale at Wade Hampton High School. They denied both allegations and said if there was any friction at Wade Hampton it was not between black and whites but between students and teachers--in short, it was the generation gap. They felt the older generation was not only impeding integration but the learning process itself. They expressed it this way:

> ---The older people is the problem. I think if they just let the younger people run schools it would be better. I had a letter from South Dakota University and the students there feel the same way I do. If the younger people ran the schools we could get along but as long as the older people are running it and standing in our way, it will never change our world completely, we will always feel prejudice for each other.
> ---If young people could run the schools there would be no prejudice and no dropouts. One reason the students are dropping out is because of the establishment, which is square. I mean the black

and white establishment.

---When I was in school after the integration I got along with everybody there and there really wasn't much difference. But the parents get all upset about integration. It's the students who have to go to school, the parents have had their education.

---I think that it will take a new generation for us to accept one another because even if the older people would stay out of it they have already taught their children prejudice. The whites have taught their children they are superior and more intelligent. The children are impressionable and I think it will take another generation to erase the prejudice.

---The reason so many black parents are upset is because they took so many black children and put them in the white schools and closed so many black schools. I believe they should have moved more white children than they did and I believe that the parents are teaching the children around the first grade that the black children are this and that and the white children are always right.

I know one kindergarten class where there are only two little Negro girls and the rest whites and

those girls felt so rejected that all they did was talk to the teacher. No one would play with them because of something they had heard from their parents.

---One white teacher slapped my sister's face. She was just so uptight and frustrated with the class all cutting up that she slapped my sister's face. She sent all the white children to the office.

---Even if the parents didn't brainwash the children, the teachers would. When I went to Greenville Junior High, the speech teacher was very old and she would say, "all the niggers stand up," and that made us mad and there is still prejudice about it. If the parents would stop brainwashing the students, the teachers would still do it, so it is a big problem. This brainwashing is every where.

Yet despite all their criticism of integration, most of them agreed with the student who said:

---There's a lot to criticize about integration, but it has a lot of good points. The two races should be living together and finding out a lot about each other. The school I go to, there are a lot of black officials in school government

> and they have a lot of white support. Integration can work if people will stop and listen to something besides all this foolish nonsense. I think it would work out real good.

The criticisms of Greenville's students carries none of the bitterness or militancy which characterized the comments of Mobile's black students. Many black teachers are frankly optimistic about the success of the unified system. Among them is Joseph Vaughn who this summer was teaching at Christ Church School. He believes the change would never have come naturally. It was due to an enlightened leadership, both in the black and white communities. His analysis of Greenville's educational system today:

> ---On February 16 I went from the 6th grade at Sullivan, which was all black, to Hughes Junior High. My reception was quite good. The administration is making integration work. All the students are finally getting the benefit of equal facilities. Black students are finally being exposed to people of other races and cultures. I'm very optimistic about the overall results. Greenville has become a model. The general public is not aware of what we have accomplished. Desegregation has spotlighted the gross inequities and fallacies of our whole educational system.

> As far as educating our children is concerned, we are losing the battle. Between grades one and twelve half of our children have dropped out. That's fifty per cent of our children who are not being educated. We'd rather invest in highways rather than in quality education. And the blacks have suffered more. Our facilities are inferior; we need to find ways to keep these youngsters in school. We need a series of vocational schools -- all students are not college bound. We need to eliminate the social promotion and address ourselves to the needs of these students. We've got to have something to offer them. In the competition between the streets and the schoolroom, the schoolroom is losing out. We complain about the welfare system, but we are producing this system. We need better training for teachers, better guidance counselors, we need so many things. . . .

* * *

From all the rhetoric, the threats, the criticism, and the inevitable contradictions of students from communities as diverse as Charlotte, N. C. and Mobile, Ala., certain

truths do emerge.

What is happening still -- to an observer -- did not seem to be a mass embracing of separatism. When the students did talk separatism, they did not seem to do so out of intellectualized doctrine. Few spoke in the harsh, anti-white, anti-human terms of the violence prone street militant. But many were clearly being edged toward separatist views by a combination of factors, foremost among which were their humiliating experiences in desegregated classrooms; the sense of their own government's betrayal in enforcement and finally, though not always in readily determined ways, the influence of "black consciousness" thought that has been articulated by some black leaders for some time now. What would happen in the fall -- the likelihood of some school boycotts -- was far easier to predict than what the students would be doing and thinking five to ten years hence. Their options were diminishing to their way of thinking. In a time of polarized national thought when the aspirations of black people seem less assured of realization than in the past it would take a turnabout of national values to rekindle the young people's enthusiasm for integration. It could be done, but first the South and the nation needed to

understand what they were risking by delay.

Those students who have found the rich promises of integration to be only a cruel hoax tend to lose all faith in the American system. They may not have dropped out of school but they have, in effect, dropped out of society. The new militancy is being spawned in the bitterly racist climate of cities like Mobile where integration has been aggressively resisted since it became the law of the land. In Greenville, where integration was accomplished, with considerably less tension, students may be aware of the inequities of the process but they are working within the system. Integration is no longer the big issue to them, but rather, the quality of education they are being offered. But the racist climate of many other Southern communities has stunted the growth of thousands of black children.

The educational structure itself is being threatened, not only by racism but by archaic attitudes, teaching methods and approaches to learning. But youth will have its say, and 1970 may well be the year. They may speak out violently as the new militants threaten or passively by simply dropping out of the American system. But they will speak out. To fail to listen could be a tragic, even fatal mistake.

WHY
"what students perceive"
A Report of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights
Clearing House Publication No. 24

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176

U.S. Commission on Civil Rights

The U.S. Commission on Civil Rights is a temporary, independent, bipartisan agency established by Congress in 1957 and directed to:

Investigate complaints alleging that citizens are being deprived of their right to vote by reason of their race, color, religion, or national origin, or by reason of fraudulent practices;

Study and collect information concerning legal developments constituting a denial of equal protection of the laws under the Constitution;

Appraisal Federal laws and policies with respect to equal protection of the laws;

Serve as a national clearinghouse for information in respect to denials of equal protection of the laws; and

Submit reports, findings, and recommendations to the President and the Congress.

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10327

10328

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Table of Contents

preface 2

Introduction 4

Overview 14

Administration 20

Teachers 32

Curriculum 46

Racial Perceptions 61

preface

In November 1967, the United States Commission on Civil Rights sponsored a national conference on *Equal Educational Opportunity in America's Cities.* This conference, which was attended by education administrators, teachers, students, and social scientists from across the Nation, explored a variety of issues bearing on the problem of equal education opportunity.

One of the most productive panel discussions of the conference was unique in that high school students of varying racial, ethnic, and geographic backgrounds were its participants. Adults listened while the students talked. They expressed their own views concerning the problems facing the institution of public education. The sensitivity, perceptiveness, and constructive thought displayed by these students made a deep impression on those who heard. Perhaps the most vivid of these impressions was the bitterness and frustration expressed by the students. Many clearly felt that the schools were not responsive to their needs or to the needs of society and were not keeping pace with the rapid political and social changes of the times.

Shortly after the conference was concluded, the Commission determined to examine on a much broader scale, by means of extensive interviews, the attitudes and perceptions of students concerning the education they were receiving. These interviews were conducted by Commission staff from mid-1968 through early 1969.

In all, 277 students from 17 cities and towns throughout the country were interviewed at length. Efforts were made in each of the communities to interview substantial numbers of both minority and majority group students. Of the total number of students interviewed, 44 are represented in this report. The selection process was based on criteria that would assure adequate racial and ethnic representation, geographical distribution, and full representation of various views and attitudes. Clarity of expression necessarily was an additional criterion.

The students who were interviewed not only represented different racial and ethnic groups, but different socioeconomic groups as well. Although the academic levels of the students covered a broad spectrum, from those in remedial and vocational courses to those in honors courses or advanced placement, the majority represented the average. Most of the students interviewed were high school juniors and seniors—those most settled in the school environment. The grade levels identified in the student profiles represent the students' grade levels at the time of the interview. In most cases, the interviews were arranged through local school officials and knowledgeable civic and religious leaders, and the Commission wishes to express its appreciation for their cooperation.

Questions asked, for the most part, dealt with the educational environment of the student: the courses he was taking; the teachers he liked and didn't like; the attitude of the principal and teachers toward the students, and his relationship with his fellow students. The interviews were conducted individually and in most cases the race of the student and interviewer was matched. Taped recordings were made of each interview, which usually lasted between an hour and an hour and a half. Questioning was directed toward bringing out the student's views on specific topics. These topics appear as chapter headings in the report that follows: Education Overview; Administration; Teachers; Curriculum; and Perceptions of Others.

Students talked about the administration and about school organization, describing the way in which school officials handled racial incidents or discipline grievances. They talked about teacher attitudes and teaching methods and gave their opinions about testing practices, grades, and ability groupings. Interviewers especially encouraged students to talk about their social science classes and the major contemporary issues of race and poverty. Since interviews began the week after Dr. Martin Luther King's assassination, urban unrest and racial tension within the schools frequently were principal topics of discussion.

While great care has been taken to retain the spirit of the original interviews, some editing has been necessary to make

129

10330

the material concise, unified, and readable. In order to present the material in logical sequences, thoughts have occasionally been transposed since certain topics have sometimes been discussed in several different parts of the interview. In addition, some liberty has been taken in deleting and inserting words in the interest of clarity and readability. For example, repetitive remarks such as "you know" have been omitted and grammar has been corrected where errors tend to detract from the substance of the material. In most cases, however, the students' words are transcribed verbatim.

It is important to stress that, although this report is based upon a sizable number of student interviews, no effort was made to assure a scientific sample, and the Commission does not present the report as a precise reflection or statistical cross-section of student attitudes. Rather, the interviews that follow are representative of the views and perceptions expressed to Commission interviewers by a large number of students of various racial and ethnic origins in different kinds of school settings.

Further, the Commission does not offer recommendations based on this study nor does it make judgments concerning the factual accuracy of the views expressed. Instead, the Commission has undertaken to act as a forum for the expression of student viewpoints in an effort to gain a better understanding of the concerns of our youth and the ways in which schools are shaping their attitudes and perceptions about education and society.

The Commission was fortunate in being able to engage the services of Alvin F. Poussaint, M.D., a distinguished psychiatrist, educator, and student of American society, who agreed to prepare an introduction to the report analyzing the views expressed and discussing their implications for the future of education and our society. Dr. Poussaint's discussion provides basic insights into the issues and concerns discussed by the students, and the Commission wishes to express its deep appreciation.

One final word. Our system of public education is being tested more critically than ever before. Crucial questions are being raised to which satisfactory answers have not yet entirely been found:

How can the schools respond constructively to the needs and aspirations of today's youth in these turbulent times?
How can students participate constructively in the decisions that affect their education?
What innovations in educational technique or curriculum are necessary to improve the quality of education?
What must be done to meet the educational needs of minority group children?
What steps must schools take to promote successful adjustment to desegregation by students and teachers alike?
How can schools continue to play their historical role as "the great equalizer of the conditions of men—the balance wheel of the social machinery?"

These are some of the questions to which educators are struggling to find answers. They also are among the questions with which students are vitally concerned and in the pages that follow, they address themselves forcefully and often passionately to them. To some readers, the comments of the students concerning their educational environment—and particularly their critical comments—will carry a "shock of recognition" and remind them vividly of their own attitudes and perceptions when they were students. To others, the students' views will seem alien, and their demands and protests unreasonable. In short, each reader undoubtedly will determine for himself the validity of the students' perceptions, on the basis of his own views of the proper role of education and of the proper relationship between schools and students, shaped by the totality of his own educational and other life experience.

Whether we agree or disagree with what the students are saying, it behooves all who are concerned with the kind of education our schools are providing at least to listen. Just as educational policy cannot be determined solely on the basis of what students think is wrong with their schools, so it would be unwise to totally ignore the views of those who are, in the last analysis, what the educational process is all about. In short, the Commission believes that students may well have something instructive to say to those in positions to make educational policy and that before their arguments are rejected, they should be heard and evaluated carefully.

180

10331

181

10332

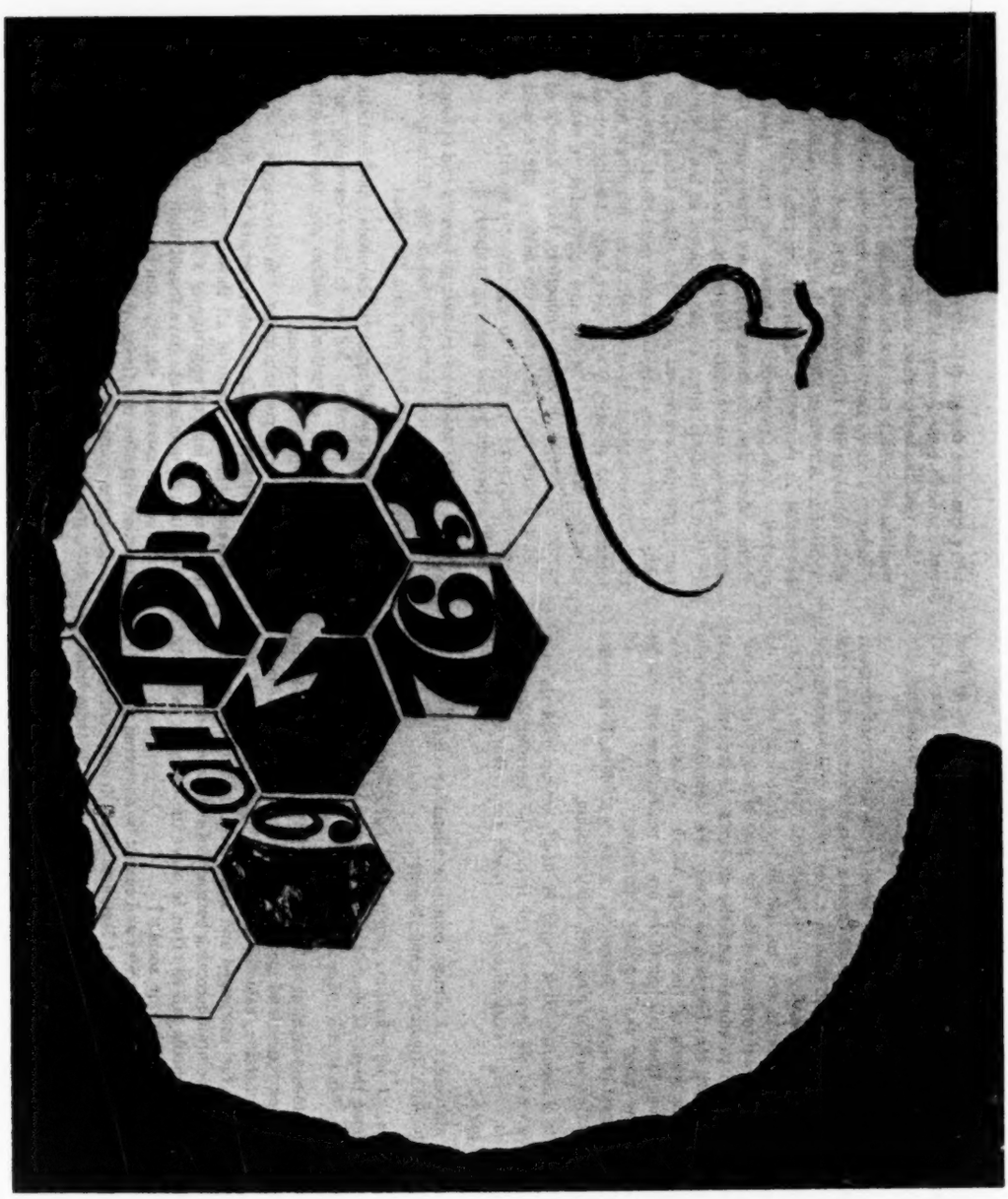
introduction

By Alvin F. Poussaint, M.D.

Associate Professor of Psychiatry, Harvard Medical School, Boston, Massachusetts
Prepared for the United States Commission on Civil Rights, February 4, 1970.

The eloquent, young voices in "What Students Perceive" carry both a message and a challenge to our society and educational system. The keen and sometimes stinging comments in this study are representative of high school youth from a broad spectrum of ethnic, socioeconomic, and geographic groupings in the United States. Their candid and often colloquial communications contain a certain beauty of expression that is refreshing and perhaps distinctive of American culture. Yet, their words

10333



do not offer us the comfort of a uniform or lucid point of view but reflect the diversity of feelings, opinions, attitudes, and experiences of students from a wide variety of social and life circumstances.

Not all of the voices here are those of discontent and despair. Nevertheless, the reports that express dissatisfaction often provide the critical insight that is a key to our understanding of the problems confronting our educational institutions. Apparently, many students are not perceiving school as we would wish or hope them to perceive it. The clash between our schools' stated mission to educate and the students' perception of that mission is both startling and ominous. We must listen carefully then to the words of these young people. We should borrow heavily from their wisdom if we are to restructure our schools to meet the many challenges of tomorrow.

In the first chapter, "Overview," a young student, Kris, opens her interview with a singeing condemnation:

School is a separate little world in itself, set up with its own conditions and its own rules for living and learning together, and it is really, really difficult to relate education to the way life is outside.

This statement of almost complete alienation contrasts dramatically with Johnny's which begins:

Conditions at my school are pretty good, but I know people that gripe about them. It doesn't make any difference what you do for them, they'll still gripe about it.

The comments of most of the students fall somewhere between these two extremes and provide us with critical assessments and, upon reflection, valuable insights. Why do so many of our young people feel estranged and alienated from our educational system to the point of becoming both school and societal dropouts? Why do our schools fail so often to serve the needs of minority group youngsters in our society?

These questions are complex and cannot be answered precisely, but if there is one important lesson to learn from reading this material, it is that students should not be viewed as some homogeneous, monolithic group that can be fitted into a rigid educational machine designed to service an old-fashioned model of a white middle class American child.

The fact is that a school program that is suitable to the disposition of Johnny may not be suitable for Kris, and vice versa. Similarly, a curriculum designed to meet the needs of a child in white suburbia may fail miserably if foisted unmodified on black or Mexican American youth in the ghettos or barrios. Likewise, programs in secondary education for rural poor would differ markedly from programs designed "to reach" youth in city slums. There are enormous differences among youth today even within a given social class. Upper class students can be hippies or West Pointers. Some school dropouts in the lower socioeconomic groups have decent jobs while others land in jail. Variations in experiences and life-styles mean that different people need different things at any given time. No single approach or method works effectively with everybody. Ideally, schools should have the flexibility of styles and approaches to work with a variety of classes of youth—hopefully, to the benefit of all.

Few people want to completely destroy our present school system but many do want to significantly modify it. As Pablo soberly expresses in the opening chapter:

School is pretty good in some cases and pretty bad in some others. Times are changing, everybody knows the times are changing and education should keep up with the times.

Thus if we are to bring about the needed modifications in programs, it is important for us to focus carefully on the inadequacies of our educational system and the changing needs and relationships in our society.

"The only way you can make it in this raggedy society is to educate yourself." This student's remark with a twist of irony expresses well the credo of all those citizens who have found in America a land of opportunity and hope. Generation after generation of immigrants have fought their way into the socioeconomic mainstream via our public school system. Today, education remains the foremost hope and promise of minority groups who continue to be rejected and oppressed. Through overt and subtle racial and socioeconomic discrimination, "a good education" is becoming an increasingly unobtainable com-

183

10334

modity for too many offspring of oppressed people. Minority group students in this volume reflect some of this hopelessness and despair. At the same time, many white students of all classes are expressing similar frustration and disenchantment with the school system.

In general, the students direct their comments to subjects that can be divided into several categories—school administration, teachers and curriculum, and perceptions of others. It would be valuable for the reader to carefully savor each interview. We will only examine the important highlights of the student perceptions in this discussion.

Most of the student complaints about the administration of their high schools focus on the inflexible rules and regulations which are made without student consultation or participation. Many regulations appear to them to be unnecessarily rigid, authoritarian, old-fashioned, or otherwise unreasonable. Students complain about a lack of flexibility in rules governing styles of dress, hair style, and social behavior. Why do some principals adhere to rules governing dress and behavior that were established decades ago and do not reflect the current styles in the community? Many students express the feeling that school administrators treat them like children who are incapable of participating in decisionmaking. This contrasts sharply with the fact that at 17 boys can join the Army and at 18 die in Vietnam for the country, but at the same age, are not allowed to participate in minor decisions relating to student activities and policies in high school.

Students attending high school are usually in late or early adolescence, a time of great intellectual and psychological change. Adolescents are seeking access into the adult world and also searching for a personal identity. During this stage of life, the student is much more capable of independent thought and logical reasoning. The adolescent is capable of more self-direction and begins to reevaluate himself in relation to his family, peers, and social world. It should be expected that in the process of his growth, the teenager questions and sometimes rebels against arbitrary authority. Since school is a large segment of the adolescent's life, it exercises a great influence on his growth to adulthood. This is true for youth whether they are white, black, or brown. Therefore, from the psychological standpoint the students' cry not to be treated "like children" and their demand for greater student participation in administrative decisions affecting their lives is understandable and reasonable.

Recently, at our colleges, we have seen some of the tragic results, through riots and general student unrest, of excluding students from the policy making boards of our colleges and universities. Most institutions of higher learning in the past several years have moved rapidly to correct some of these deficiencies. For the first time in our history, students now sit on colleges' boards of trustees and other decisionmaking bodies.

Student participation helps to curtail many potential problems in programming and communication which are part of the generation gap—the difference in values and styles that separate the older and younger generations. Pupil participation becomes even more important in our schools when working with minority group students who are from different socioeconomic and cultural backgrounds than school administrators. Too often, middle class white administrators make unnecessary mistakes in judgment when prescribing programs for minority groups without their involvement and consultation.

Students in this volume indicate a respect for those school officials who are interested in their feelings and opinions, and allow them to participate in school governance and problem solving. Teenagers also seem to respond well to adults who are friendly, flexible, and display a minimum of the adult, "We know better than you" attitude.

Student unrest is beginning to spread from the colleges to the high schools as the demands for reform continue to escalate. Particularly in regard to racial unrest, it is urgent that administrators begin to institute policies that will contribute to eliminating the sense of powerlessness and second-class status that schools so often have fostered among minority group children. One such step should be to incorporate more minority persons in administrative and leadership positions within the educational system. This would include some degree of community participation and/or control particularly in minority group communities. Dr. James Conant, in his classic report on education, stated,

"There are three requisites for the successful operation of a high school: first, a school board composed of intelligent, honest, devoted citizens . . . second, a first-rate superintendent; third, a good principal." Whether this contention is valid or not, it clearly is important to obtain minority group representation at all levels of school administration, if minority group children are to be properly educated.

Some of the same complaints that the students have about administrators they also level at teachers. Teachers who are inflexible, impersonal, and arbitrary seem to be the least effective with high school teenagers. Instructors who manifest negative racial or class attitudes have, as you would expect, particular difficulty working with minority group students. Many cultural barriers exist between middle class teachers and lower socioeconomic students, especially if there are also ethnic differences. Most white teachers have received very little in their own education that would help equip them to work effectively with minority group youngsters. In fact, their training, if typical of American schools, was probably racist in much of its content. Their academic courses most likely extolled the values and virtues of Northern European civilization to the exclusion of other cultures, and their training courses undoubtedly were geared almost entirely to the educational needs of white middle class children. Training programs for educators have been modeled too closely to white upper strata values and practices.

One black student aptly expresses the insensitivity they frequently show:

When you get a white teacher in the class, he's brought up the same way as most of the white students are—relative to the times. And the black student just cannot identify with the teacher who comes back after a weekend and says, 'Well, how many of you went skiing?' Most of them spent their time in a pool hall or something.

Black and Mexican American students also frequently perceive that white middle class teachers are more comfortable with and favor the white middle class student (although one student reports that a white teacher favored the black students when allotting grades). The important process of student identification with his teacher and vice versa is obstructed because of racial-cultural differences. In the end, it is the minority group student or poor white who loses out on an equal chance for a quality education. It is also worth noting that white students also feel rejected and hurt by anti-white prejudice encountered in Negro teachers. As school staffs continue to integrate, this may become a more significant problem than it is presently.

The most important factor, however, in the students' rating of teachers is not whether they are white, black, or brown. The students, despite their differences, all seem to value and respect a teacher who appears truly interested in teaching and has enough empathy to understand some of the problems of students that stem from their social environment. This comment by one American pupil is representative:

I had an American history teacher who was a real nice man and seemed to be interested in the students and the community. He is an Anglo, but spends most of his life with Mexican Americans.

In other words, students respond well when they [students] are liked and *respected* by the teachers. Racist views or middle class contempt for lower socioeconomic groups almost absolutely obstruct communication and destroy the chances for effective teaching. Most young people have a need to be understood in a noncondescending manner.

Often the demand by students for more "black" or "chicano" teachers is made because they feel mistreated and not understood by the typical middle class white teacher. Thus, a young Mexican American comes to this conclusion:

The best teachers are the ones that come from a similar background and know the kids' problems and how they feel about certain things. I feel that the person that is going to teach at a school that is composed of minority groups should be somebody that at least knows or has studied the problem, and not one that goes in there thinking he is going to tear all those little ignorant people up.

Minority group students are particularly conscious of negative attitudes of school personnel that may become manifest in

structured school programs. Guidance counselors may tend to discourage Negro and Mexican American youth from taking college prep courses either because of direct racist feelings or a misdirected liberal desire "to protect" them. Majority group students, on the other hand, frequently are channeled—almost automatically—into these courses. Some of these students are beginning to recognize the arbitrary nature of their favored position. As one white student observes:

I have gotten A's and B's all the way through, and it's really frightening for me to see my grades coming out like that and get commended for it. As a result I am funneled into college prep courses, the honor roll, and other kinds of things.

Minority group students, however, often find themselves excluded from the "honor tracks" or shunted to "trade" and vocational courses. The noted psychologist, Dr. Kenneth B. Clark, has reported that children who are treated as though they are stupid and uneducable almost invariably become uneducable.

Minority group students even report accounts of teachers making direct comments in class about the inferiority of certain ethnic groups. For instance, this story is related by a Mexican American girl:

I went into this class and the teacher started talking about Mexicans being blanket-wrappers and chili beans, and things like that. He was saying Mexicans didn't apply themselves and wouldn't be good students and that colored kids were worse.

That teachers who are entrusted with educating our young and teaching "democracy" should make such comments in class to children is shocking. Its effect on young minds, particularly minorities, is obviously cruel and damaging.

Such openly racist attitudes also encourage white youths to develop unhealthy psychological defenses. White students may learn to deal with personal insecurities and inadequacies by false feelings of superiority. Thus instead of handling personal difficulties constructively, they make scapegoats of those who look different and project their problems onto minority group students. The use of such mechanisms not only causes hardship to black and brown youngsters; it also interferes with their own growth to emotional maturity. Thus the bigoted person remains a deficient individual.

Many Caucasian youth who are grappling with their prejudices are angry with the society that has conditioned them in this way. White students, as they grow more concerned about social issues and seek ways to help resolve the towering problems of race and poverty, are increasingly aware of how much they are handicapped and rendered ineffective because of supremacist attitudes perpetuated in the schools. Often, despite the best in themselves, many cannot help being paternalistic and condescending around "colored" people. Some, who do not yet recognize the conditioning to which they have been subjected, will later enter a world where they must work closely with minority groups and then will realize that the educational system ill-prepared them. Therefore, school administrators should not hesitate to quickly rid the system of personnel who openly espouse bigotry.

Throughout this volume, it is clear that students have quite high expectations of school officials. Outside their family associations, they are the adults to whom they look for learning, identification, and wisdom. Some may sit passively and others offer direct obstacles but most still expect the teacher to somehow stimulate their interest and "teach" them. One student's observation about teaching—"It is hard. It's one of the most difficult jobs in the world"—is not an overstatement.

Teachers have been more greatly challenged today because of the sweeping changes in values and social perspectives in our Nation, especially among the youth. The new consciousness among minorities and the poor have made new demands on teachers and schools for "relevance". Racist attitudes have come under renewed and greater attack. Increased integration particularly in the South has brought transitional social and psychological stress to both the black and white child. In the past few years, the black consciousness movement and a growing militancy among Mexican Americans have added further dimensions to the difficulties in communication and understanding between minorities and the white Anglo majority. The comments from the students in this volume reflect the intensity of concern about these relations.

Many of the white students who are struggling with different levels of their own feelings about racial differences often express hurt and bewilderment. A white student reports:

One problem I am having is that I had always spoken of them as 'Negroes' because it seemed to me that 'colored' was offensive and 'black' was offensive. . . . I'm having trouble saying 'black'.

The word "black" in our culture has garnered so many negative connotations in our racial psychology that many whites as well as many blacks find it very difficult to feel that "black is beautiful". In fact, many people, especially whites, seem to become more frightened the more the word "black" is used descriptively. One white student explains:

It is kind of scary to have all this black power around and have no idea exactly what they are advocating. Black power is getting to mean that Negroes want a separate society and they don't want to take white standards.

Since the "black power" slogan became popular during a time when there were a great many riots in our urban ghettos, whites immediately associated the new black unity with violence. Foremost in many white minds was the fear that blacks would retaliate for past and present wrongs of the ruling group. As one white student puts it:

Power is a very strong word and if you said, 'black power' right away, if you don't know what it means, you think that it's a force that is going to overpower you.

This student expresses keenly the unconscious reactions that psychiatrists find whites have to potential black aggression. This fear leads to a withdrawal on the part of many white students and a decrease in social communication between groups to dangerous proportions.

One white pupil reports: "There's a definite gap now between the coloreds and the whites in this school." It is fair to say that this feeling has been characteristic of the atmosphere in high schools and colleges throughout the country. Whites blame the blacks for this increased tension:

Whites feel they are being left out and a lot of blacks are saying, 'You ought to be left out. We were left out for so long, now it's our chance to get ahead.' It's kind of carried away. In my eyes, they are all equal but I think black power is crazy. Ever since then, there has been nothing but hate for both sides.

The white students seem particularly fearful and upset if they are enrolled in a high school that has a majority or large proportion of minority group students, especially blacks. Often, their reactions seem part of the backlash effect which normally indicates that many have a great deal of latent racism that becomes manifest when blacks are aggressively "black and proud". One young girl angrily remarks: "I think they want superior rights, not equal rights." The students undoubtedly reflect the attitudes of their family and community.

On the other side, blacks and Mexican Americans are undergoing a revolution of self-awareness and discovery of their identity which is permeating the halls of our educational institutions. The pattern of teaching white supremacy has been part of the educational process in both integrated and segregated schools throughout the United States for a long time. The curricula of most American schools knowingly or unknowingly have taught white racism. History is presented almost entirely according to the white man's mythology and the history of other races and ethnic groups is either disparaged or ignored. For example, white and black revolutionary figures are portrayed quite differently. White revolutionary leaders such as Patrick Henry and Paul Revere are portrayed as grand and glorious heroes. On the other hand, black slave revolutionaries such as Nat Turner have been depicted as ignorant, misguided, and perhaps deranged ingrates. By the same token, even though the red man was murdered and his land stolen by white settlers, he is still pictured as "the bad guy" who savagely abused the good intentioned, white Christian. Mexicans, also, are continually ridiculed and made to appear inferior and "uncivilized". An account by one of the Mexican American students is enlightening:

I remember phrases from my history book like, 'Santa Anna knew that he was dealing with a superior class of men.' It is

187

10338

phrases like that, that stay in my mind, they stay on the surface, but they keep drilling this junk in your heads until it gets to your subconscious . . . what am I—inferior or something?

In effect, white history has often encouraged the minority student to contentedly accept his status of subordination in America, and the majority student to accept the patterns of racial and cultural superiority. One black student in this volume describes one session in which a white teacher in complete earnest discusses "The Advantages of Slavery". Another remarks: "The only time it seems anything was ever achieved is when the white man did it—this is what they teach us in school and that's racist!"

Textbooks and other teaching materials have usually presented the model of the white middle class to be emulated and aspired to by minority groups. The styles of life and language in books meant to teach spelling, reading, and history are white models that are often divorced from the realities of life of the black or Mexican American child. The chicano youngsters in this volume mention the rejection they feel from teachers who object to their use of the Spanish language and cultural styles. How can he feel that he is a worthwhile human being if he is not Anglo, and living in a clean suburban house like Dick and Jane? Minority group models and heroes are seldom presented for children to emulate.

Many school activities that center around religious worship espouse a white God, a white Virgin Mary, and a white Santa Claus. Goodness and purity are said to be "white" and badness and sin are said to be "black". Cultural material that is taught normally focuses on European-Christian traditions and little is presented about Asian, Mexican, or African life, history or culture. How is a minority student to feel a positive sense of self when "colored" people are constantly negated and only whiteness legitimized?

This negation of minority groups that pervades our culture and is reinforced by our schools has a powerful impact on a child's self-concept. A Mexican American student gives this poignant description:

I am as brave as a lion as long as I am not near Anglos. If I hadn't seen any Anglos for a long time and if right away I get thrown in with a bunch of them, you know, I feel kind of funny. I feel alone—all by myself. I feel inferior.

This self-hatred that develops early in the life of the minority child has devastating psychological effects on his development. Sometimes self-hatred can take on very subtle manifestations. For instance, competition, which may bring success, may also bring failure. Thus the efforts which may bring success to oppressed students are often not made even when the opportunity exists. This occurs for two reasons: First, the anxiety that accompanies growth and change is avoided if a new failure is not risked; therefore, a try is not made. Second, the steady state of failure represented by nonachievement is what many minority group persons have come to know and expect. Nonachievement is familiar, and safer. Furthermore, for minorities, especially black people, it has often meant survival to deny the possession of intelligence, thoughts, and feelings. This makes it difficult to move from a position of passivity to one of activity, and to acknowledge heretofore forbidden feelings and behavior as now safe, legitimate, and acceptable. Frequently, such internal feelings may lead to an overwhelming discomfort which then results in a student's withdrawal and truancy. Other youngsters may develop an attitude of "what's the use" or feel that they don't have a "right" to success. Still others adopt an attitude of hostility and defiance against a system that appears to despise them.

It is pleasing to note in these pages the students' very positive response to the teaching of "Negro History" and courses such as "The Minorities". As changes in the curriculum continue to take place, we will actually be able to observe some of the positive effects of these changes. This black student's comment probably expresses the sentiments of many concerned educators:

When I was a freshman and a sophomore, my history courses didn't have too much about the Negro, about his accomplishments, and all the things that he had done in the past. He just seemed to fly over us, you know, and I didn't pay much attention. But now that I have had Negro history, things have begun to come to life and I can look back and see how we were kept down. I would say every school, not only in the city—but in

188

10339

the state and country—should have a class on Negro history. It is very interesting not only to the colored people but it would give white people a chance to actually see the beginning of the trouble, the causes of the problem, and by knowing the causes, people would take a different view of the situation.

For the minority group student the development of a new sense of racial and ethnic pride has had many important consequences. Negroes, Puerto Ricans, and Mexican Americans have become less acquiescent and tolerant to racist practices and attitudes as they gain a greater sense of identity. The new racial and cultural consciousness has led to group organization among minorities that has many positive impacts in the struggle for human rights. As indicated earlier, many whites have responded with fear to this new unity. Cries of "separatism" and "reverse racism" have been echoed by both liberal and conservative whites.

To many black and brown people, the new group cohesiveness is at least in part a protection both socially and psychologically against their bombardment with racist attitudes. Large and small slights from white Anglos have become more and more psychologically intolerable. Since the degree of racial and ethnic self-hatred has diminished, minority groups are no longer ashamed or repulsed by being a part of their own people and community. They respect the cultural differences of their groups from the mainstream of white America. Many back and Mexican American students are in a state of transition and are rebelling against some of the implications of complete assimilation with white Anglos. Many are tired of "begging for acceptance" from white people. They resent being made "tokens" and "exceptions" who must acquiesce or participate in racist practices, or become an object of a "broadening experience" for whites.

Vernon, a black student, typifies the old demeaning accommodating attitudes:

There's a lot of guys on the football team now that call me 'nigger', but I don't get mad at them . . . I think it's wrong for you to have a friend who would be afraid to use a bad word such as 'nigger' around you. A lot of my friends who never say it, sometimes it will slip out and they'll say, 'Excuse me; I'm sorry; don't pay any attention' and I say, 'It's all right; it doesn't bother.'

This student is in all likelihood repressing his anger and rage—a psychological defense frequently used by minority races.

Minority group people pay a high psychological price in order to maintain adequate controls against a just anger. The simplest method of dealing with rage is to suppress it and substitute an opposing emotional attitude—compliance, docility, or a "loving attitude". Sometimes anger can be denied completely and replaced by a compensatory happy-go-lucky disposition, flippancy or—an attitude extremely popular among Negroes—"being cool". Another way for aggression to be channeled is through competitive sports, music, or dancing. These are the few activities which white Anglo society has traditionally opened to minorities. Another acceptable means of channeling rage is to identify with the oppressor and put all of one's energy into striving to be like him. An additional way for the oppressed to give expression to their feelings is to empathize or identify with someone objectively like themselves, who for one reason or another is free to express appropriate rage directly at the oppressor. Malcolm X and H. Rap Brown served this function for many black people. Still another technique for dealing with anger is to replace it with a type of chronic resentment and stubbornness toward white people—interpreted as a "chip on the shoulder". Trying to control anger in this way frequently shows itself in a general irritability and always has the potential of becoming explosive. Thus, the spreading wave of minority unrest may be seen as outbursts of suppressed and often legitimate wrath.

In psychiatric practice it is a generally accepted principle that a chronic repressed rage will eventually lead to a low self-esteem, depression, emotional dullness, and apathy. It appears now as if more and more blacks and Mexican Americans are freeing themselves of suppressed rage through greater outspoken release of pent-up emotions. The new generation of minority youth is unwilling (no matter how impractical it sometimes may seem) to sacrifice its psychological integrity in order to move more easily in a white middle class world.

Racial integration in America has usually taken place on terms dictated by whites. Thus, since integration is nearly always a one-way street that blacks travel to a white institution, then an implied inferiority of the black man is inherent in the situation, because it is *he who must* seek out whites to better his position. This implies that only he can benefit and learn; that he has nothing to offer whites; that whites have nothing to learn from him or from his presence. For instance, students note in this volume that many of the white students resent taking "Negro History". As one white student bluntly puts it:

If you bring too much colored—Negro—history into the school, white kids will stop listening and say, "Who wants to hear about some nigger?"

In addition, when the number of Negroes or Mexican Americans at any white school is token, it creates particular hardships for these individuals. They immediately find themselves surrounded by students, many of whom already have been taught at home that minority group children are their intellectual and social inferiors. In this setting, since all people want to belong, many black and brown children must become experts at "being liked and accepted". Sometimes they have to "prove" that they are "just like all other human beings" and "worthy" of being assimilated.

This severe pressure on minority students in such schools is greatly eased if they represent a good percentage of the student body. In this way they can gain much psychological support through their own organizations and social clubs. Many black and brown students in this volume have shown that they can organize effectively to bring about change in "integrated" schools that address themselves more to their needs and experience. This new sense of non-accommodating dignity is aptly put by this black young lady:

In our lunch room we have this table, and I call it Harlem, because this is where all the soul people sit. When I first went there I would say, 'Ah, this is ridiculous, we cannot all sit together.' But now I feel, 'Well, why not?' because if whites are really genuinely together, and they want to be your friend, they don't mind coming over and sitting with you. Many of the black students are not willing to say, 'You come over here.' I am sick of the white students saying, 'All right, you can sit with me.' I feel, 'Well, why don't you come sit with me instead?' It is not that the black students try to be white, it is just that they aren't ready to say, 'Look, people, you have got to look at me and try to see things my way for a change.'

It is not only the minority group high school student who wants the opportunity to participate more fully in the management of his life; this is important to the growth and maturation of all adolescents. Too often school officials (and other adults) treat teen-age students as an oppressed group without rights. The similarities of the two positions is apparent in the title of a paper that a young man wrote on behalf of student rights—he entitled the paper, "The Student as Nigger". No one has suggested that high school students should "run" the school but the voices in this volume cry out for more adequate participation and representation. There is no reason, for example, why dress codes must be imposed arbitrarily on students without consulting them, or why student councils—for many youngsters their first experience with democracy in action—should be rendered powerless and impotent. Yet few school administrators have given students a voice in the decisionmaking process that so directly affects them. Educational programs that stress achievement, participation, and power-sharing in the schools are crucially important to all students, but doubly important to minority students in their search for a positive sense of identity.

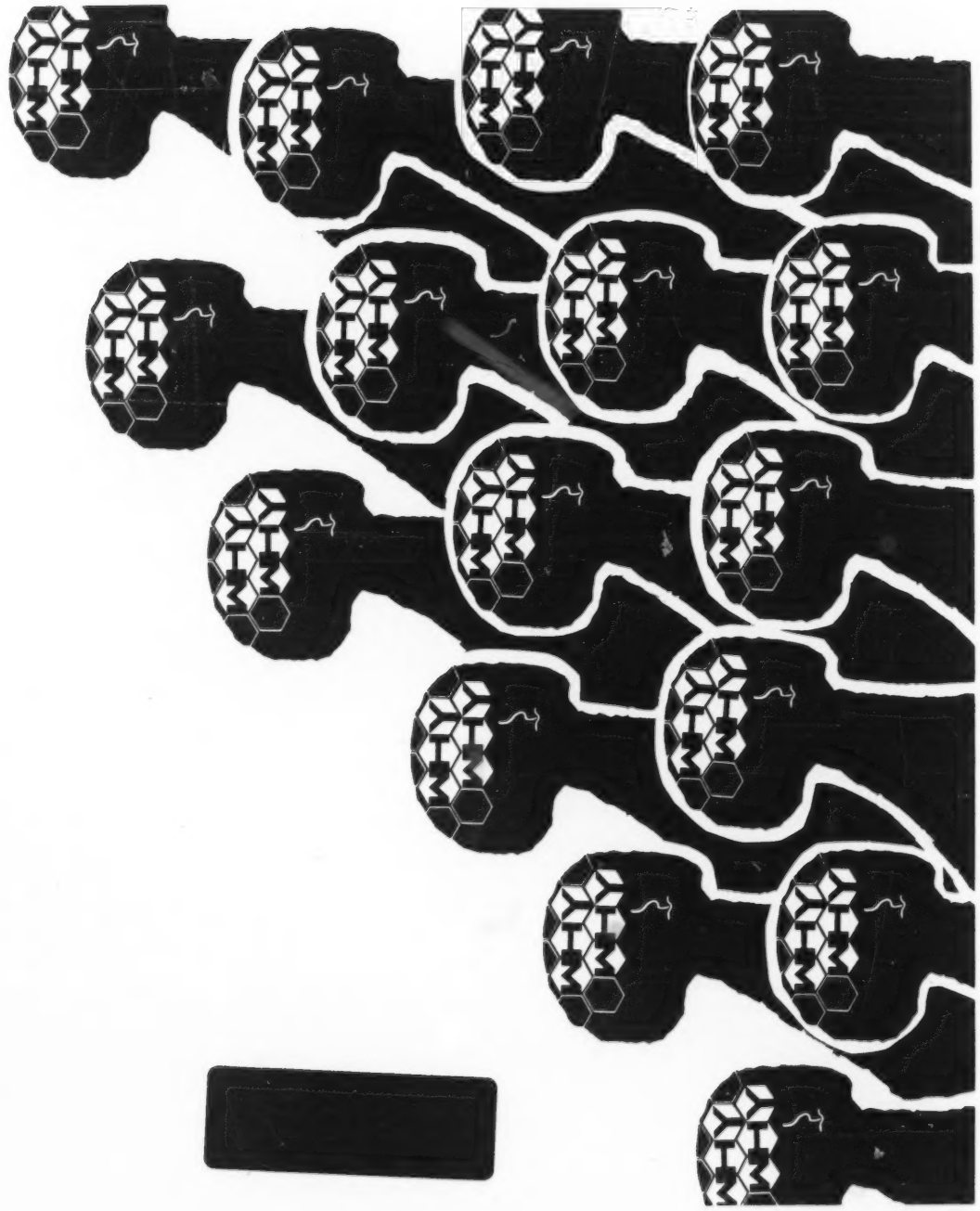
With the rapid technological and value changes in our society it is even more crucial that the older generation lend an attentive ear to the keen perceptions of our rather sophisticated younger generation. Nothing is more dangerous to constructive change than the obstruction of effective communication characterized by a mutual respect between groups—white or black, young or old. For those who want to learn what is in the hearts of our high schoolers trying desperately to cope with staggering, chaotic times, *What Students Perceive* provides a thoughtful and poignant look into their critical reflections on our educational system. These pages should be read with care!

190

10341

10342

Overview



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193

Elizabeth

Elizabeth is a white student who attends a nearly all-white suburban school outside a medium-sized mideastern city. Elizabeth is a senior who plans a career in psychology or sociology.

I think of education as learning things and developing attitudes and making the most of your personal talents and abilities so that you can succeed or do your very best in life. Education ought to be a step-by-step process and everything ought to be pulled together so that when you get finished, you can look back and have the whole thing. Just like building a brick wall, you've got to start with the bottom layer. I feel like—looking back—that there are a whole bunch of holes in the wall, and the wall is going to fall down because things didn't go along evenly. I feel dissatisfied, but I can't really put my finger on it completely, and I can't give very good suggestions what to do about it because I'm not sure.

Kris

Kris is a white student in her senior year in a small city school on the west coast. The school is predominantly white with a minority enrollment of approximately 15 percent. Kris is taking academic courses and plans to go to college.

School is a separate little world in itself, set up with its own conditions and its own rules for living and learning together, and it is really, really difficult to relate education to the way life is outside.

When you come to school, you just sort of contract and prepare yourself to be talked at all day long. There is a bell that says you can eat and a bell that says you can stop eating; a bell to tell you to sit down—a routine all the time. It really is such an unrealistic sort of world. You either go insane or you laugh at it and alienate yourself.

I'm really so frustrated. It is so hard to force teachers to talk or let you talk about things that are important to you and to the world outside. You don't talk about change, that's what kids are so discouraged about. If you talk about those things, it is outside and it is on your own. Education means learning about those things—not just a kind of sterilized, homogenized math and English, and all out of a textbook kind of thing.

I don't think many kids are aware of what's happening to them because they have been through this since first grade. They are conditioned to answer the teacher and if he says, "Shut up, don't interrupt me," you don't. I have seen kids fed up and mouth off to a teacher. They are promptly sent to the dean. That is the answer—separate him from the others. Kids don't look upon this as education and therefore don't want any part of it. The kind of things I want to be taught they say nobody is interested in. I know that isn't true. I live with these kids and talk with them and know it's a universal interest to find out what's going to connect their lives—that's what they're worrying about.

10344

It's really ridiculous to sit kids down in a place and say, "We known what is best for you. We know what you are going to learn, what you should learn, and what you are going to want to learn. Sit down, shut up, and we'll do it for you." Schools are here for the kids and if they're made by someone else or belong to some one else, then there's no point in having kids there at all. And besides, school is all so irrelevant to most of them. I really think I've gotten an education in spite of school—not because of it.

Johnny

Johnny is a senior in a suburban school outside a medium-sized southern city. He is white and is in an academic course. Some black students have been assigned to Johnny's school as part of the city's desegregation plan.

Conditions at my school are pretty good, but I know people that gripe about them. It doesn't make any difference what you do for them, they'll still gripe about it. And those are the people that keep it from being an ideal school. They'll go around and tell the teachers, "Why can't we have a lounge? Why can't we leave school during lunch periods and go home to eat, or things like that? Or if you've got a study hall sixth period, "Why can't you leave school instead?" I don't think you could have an ideal school if you allowed this because there's just going to be those few students that's gonna ruin it.

Larry

Larry, a white student, is a senior in a school in the southwestern part of the country. The school is located in a medium-sized city and has substantial numbers of blacks and Mexican Americans. He is taking an academic course and wants to become either a minister or a doctor.

Learning, unless you're doing what you want, is actually pretty boring. Some people just don't like to be bored that way you know. I like to learn things, even if it wasn't required, I'd learn things. But education is just a training ground to students. That's about all it is, training for future life, you know, when you get to be on your own, you've got to have some basis to live by. You've got to know a certain amount to be on your own. It just isn't like it used to be where you could skip out in the third grade and still live.

High school should be required; it should be the very minimum education a person should get. Actually, it isn't education that's needed; it's the diploma, anybody can get through high school today. You can be trained for a vocation; you can take all kinds of courses like radio, drafting, woodwork and metalwork, and still graduate. You don't have to take hard subjects. I mean, anybody can get through if they really try. People who don't get through high school are just either stupid or something. I don't think they're bored. They just don't like to put out the effort they need to get the grades to pass. I'm not really speaking too much of learning. I'm just speaking if you're going to get a job with any chance of advancement, you've got to have a high school diploma and that's all there is to it.

Jesse

Jesse is a Mexican American student in his sophomore year at a predominantly white school. The school is located in a small city on the west coast. Jesse looks forward to attending college to study law or sociology.

Education is there, but it is up to the kid. I can drop out if I want to because nowadays it is not a matter of education. They say you need your high school diploma and a college education to get this and that. My God, I have never seen a bigger lie in my whole life. Especially it is true of minority groups, that if you go out and try and get a job, I don't care how much college experience you have, the very fact that you are a Negro or Mexican is going to hurt your chances to getting certain jobs. Still, I am preparing myself; I am doing things for myself.

Education is not really making me. It is helping me, but I am doing the bigger part. I am the one who made up my mind to study college prep.

Alice

Alice is a Mexican American student. She attends a school in

194

10345

a medium-sized southwestern city and is in her sophomore year. The school has a mixed enrollment of black, Anglo, and Mexican American students. Alice is studying cosmetology and does not want to go to college.

High school is pretty neat. I like it. It is the only school with vocational courses. They have electronics, radio-TV, cosmetology, and stuff like that. Most of the kids work hard at what they are going to be doing. The principal says they teach us enough down here that we shouldn't have to go to another school and pay $300 or $400 and get the same training that we have already had. And that is true.

I like school just as it is now because you know the different kinds of people, you know, being Negro and being Spanish. I don't think I would like to be with just rich people and all.

Pablo

Pablo is a Mexican American student in his junior year at an all-Mexican American school in a large city in the Southwest. He wants to become a teacher.

School is pretty good in some cases and pretty bad in some others. Times are changing, everybody knows the times are changing and education should keep up with the times. The education we're getting from our school right now is kind of getting behind and somebody has to do something to speed it up a little. If all of us Mexican Americans stay behind in our education, we're going to be behind period. If we have a chance to improve the education, we're going to have a chance to improve our race. We have a big dropout rate. They just kick them out; they don't try to improve them. Nobody has really gotten on the ball and tried to improve the conditions.

Now they are improving the educational system, but it is kind of slow. Nobody is prepared for trig because our elementary and junior high education was crummy; we couldn't take harder courses. They don't even give you a chance to try them. You go to some Northside school and wow!, you have two or three classes in trig because they are prepared. Over here, you are not prepared for anything. The education is way behind.

People who have a chance really work for it. You go outside and you see somebody digging a ditch; they are the poor Mexican American or Negro. It is a fact. You see the guy come around saying, 'No make it a little wider,' or 'No, straighten it up.' That's the Anglo. Anglos have all the power because of their education. We don't have the education because they control it. If we were better educated, we could have better jobs.

Vernon

Vernon, a sophomore, has been attending a nearly all-white school in a southern medium-sized city for 2 years. He takes academic courses and considers himself a fairly good student. Vernon is black.

I don't think I'd change my school that much. It suits me as it is except for a few minor things that wouldn't change the school very much. Probably if there were maybe 100—200 Negroes at the school, there would be several changes needed. Because it is in its first stages of integration, there's not that many needed. It could be plenty more Negroes there, but they just won't go. I don't know why.

Roger

Roger is a black student from a large city in the Eastern part of the country. He is a junior and attends an all-black school. He hopes to go to college.

School should be geared to providing students with a wide range of possible areas they could use to solve the problems in their communities. The educational system as it is now set up is geared to a society and a culture that doesn't have any problems. They don't teach you what to do about the rats in your home; they don't teach you how not to be exploited by credit companies or how to get together and maybe form a co-op or something. They don't teach anything that vaguely resembles practical education, and that's why things are really messing people up. They're learning about Alexander Hamilton and how he directed the Treasury Department and that's not helping you feed your children. This is what the school really needs.

195

10346

Students also need courses where they can really understand themselves, you know, where they can see themselves as black individuals. If you just look around, you are going to see these problems, and that's why a lot of students see that school is not real.

Caroline

Caroline is a black student who attends a predominantly black school in a large eastern city. She is a sophomore taking business courses to prepare herself for a secretarial job, but also plans to attend a business college.

When I hit the ninth grade, I went in to high school. It was supposed to be nice and all that. I just turned out doin' wrong and ended up repeating the grade. I liked to have fun and the classes didn't interest me. I stayed out and all.

I take family living, arithmetic, English, and record-keeping. But I don't think I'm gettin' anything out of it. It's partly because of the teachers' attitude and the way they let the children do things. They're not really teaching them. It's more like they're babysitting instead of teaching them.

If I could change the things I have now, I would change the subjects. I'd take history, biology, and arithmetic and all of them because they are substantial classes. And I think I would get more that's going to help me instead of little classes you go in and sit and talk all day. Sometimes it's good to have classes that you can sit down and talk about different things freely and don't have to do much writing, but when you have more than one of them, you can sit home and talk to people. I mean, you want to learn something more.

Stewart

Stewart is a senior at a predominantly black school. Stewart is black and wants to become a chemist. His school is located in a medium-sized city in the Eastern part of the country.

The schools I've attended have been what I call 'ghetto schools'—the inner-city school—and if you compare them to the schools of the predominantly white neighborhood—the schools of suburbia—they are always on a low par. But public schools have a number of people from various areas and give you a keener and more clear insight into exactly what's going on in the world. No matter how much education you have as far as book [learning], you have to have a lot of common sense and understanding to really know what's going on in the streets. This is one thing you are constantly exposed to in the ghetto schools.

School is like a vicious circle. School is no good for the underprivileged kid and school should be his salvation. This should be the place where he can at least express himself and it should be like a second home, and yet school is more horrifying than home. School becomes like a jail; a place for correcting bad boys instead of a place for teaching the fundamentals of reading, writing, and arithmetic. The teacher does not even try to relate to the student. It's just, 'What's the matter with you, boy? Why don't you try to smile sometimes? You're going to high school now. You're acting like a little child. You have to grow up.'

People are telling you to grow up and you're saying to yourself, 'Well, man, grow up! I'm working and studying and getting good grades. I'm smart. I can function.' You become a hustler; you cheat the guys, and always this thing about, 'You're going to high school. They're not going to put up with that crap.' You're bitter, let's face it. All this could be eliminated if you have someone in the school who has come through the same channels. It doesn't take a full-scale program; it takes interested people. That's why my principal was a failure and why many principals all over the Nation are failures. They fail to relate. This is the whole basic problem: communication and respect.

The only way you can make it in this raggedy society is to educate yourself. Sometimes, you know, I say, 'Damn, what's the use?' You graduate number one in your class and you're still a second-rate job. You still get housing discrimination, you still go to work, and everybody looks at you stupid. You just can't be accepted as a man. This is why this country is so explosive today because young people aren't going for it no more. And much of this, if not all of it, can be solved through education.

196
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Rosa

Rosa is Mexican American. She is a senior in a suburban school near a medium-sized west coast city. About 50 percent of the students are Anglo. Mexican Americans and blacks comprise the remaining school population. Rosa has been taking business courses but wants to go to college next year to study elementary education.

The administration is strict; not extremely strict but pretty strict. The principal—is very unfriendly; he never smiles. In the 4 years that I have gone there, I have never seen him smile. He'll just stare and is always carrying a big frown on his face. The kids all hate him. I haven't seen a one that has said something nice about him. Our principal in junior high was forever smiling and joking with the kids, like: 'Well, how are you doing, today?'—and things like that. That's nice, you know; it carries on a real friendly atmosphere, while over there in high school, you turn around and feel like somebody's going to shoot you.

Our principal is a little old man and very old-fashioned, therefore. I don't think he should make the dress code. He probably would have us wearing dresses way down to our ankles. It's now his decision, but I think students should really decide. They really should put it to a vote. For instance, they won't let you wear a pants dress like culottes, and during the summer they really are comfortable—you have to admit to that. What was getting the Mexican and colored girls was that a lot of the white girls were wearing culottes and they wouldn't get sent home, while the Mexican and colored girls would—and that got to them. That would have gotten to me! I wear culottes but I haven't gotten sent home because mine have a little flap on the front and it makes them look like a skirt. If they would have told me to go home because of the clothes, I would have told them, 'That's my dress. My mother bought it for me to wear to school and if you want to buy me another, you can!' If the dress looks neat and appropriate for school, I don't think they should have a rule that you can't wear this or you can't wear that, because, for some kids, culottes are cheaper than a dress. See, that's it—they treat us like we are still little babies who have to be taken care of. We should be able to face the respon-

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200

sibility—some responsibilities.

We had a lot of racial disturbances lately, you know, all those sitdowns we've been having on the lawn? The colored girls complained that they couldn't try out for the "Letter Girls" because they would never make it. Every year they try out. The colored girls would get together and pick the best looking ones that had the best figures and were the lightest, and still they would never make it. They would go to the counselors and ask why they weren't chosen and different things like that, but they wouldn't get anywhere. I thought it was rather unfair; it's not their fault what color they are.

So the colored kids started protesting and putting down pressure. They would all get together and sit out in the middle of the grass and start making threats. They also called the newspapers. As soon as the newspapers came over to find out what was going on, the administration put the kids in the auditorium. That's when they started talking to them. When the kids were in the auditorium, they also requested history on Negroes and a Negro counselor that understands them. Two days after the coloreds sat down on the lawn and everything, all the Mexican boys got together at noon and were just talking and standing there. One boy said, 'Come on', to try to make the administration think we were going to go on strike, too. A man came up and asked, 'What's going on?' 'What's going on?', but we weren't doing anything. 'We are standing here and being sociable,' I said. "We want to talk to each other. This is the only time we have to talk to each other." And he thought it was kind of funny, you know. He thought we were going to plan a riot!

I tried out one year for the "Letter Girls" but I didn't make it because I was too short, so it didn't bother me. I asked the real cute girls why didn't they try out and they said, 'They'd never make it.' That's mostly their attitude I—I kind of forced them to get into it a little and this year, instead of letting the band director pick the cheerleaders, the dean of girls and a counselor helped out.

Some of the Mexican Americans were finally chosen as alternate "Letter Girls"—but still, you know, they got to perform. Two colored girls made it this time and also three colored alternates. The administration is scared, otherwise I don't think none of the coloreds or the Mexicans would have made it. I didn't go out and sit with them in the middle of the grass that day, but I do think that that was a good way of getting something done.

Edgar

Edgar attends an all-Mexican American school in a large city in the Southwest. He is a senior. At the time of the interview, he was uncertain what he would do after graduation although he was considering applying to a local community college.

My school is predominantly Latin American. There is only about three Anglos and two Negroes, and half of the administration, at least, is Latin American.

The principal is an old man. He was the vice principal under the first guy who stayed there for about 30 years. The original principal was Anglo and that one that took over is a Mexican American, but he is so old that he doesn't know what is going on. He has four administrators under him that take care of the school. All he does is walk around, then go home.

That school has been run like the first principal had it in mind. He used to tell everybody that he wouldn't let us compete because we weren't able to compete, and that we would only humiliate ourselves. So, by hiding the students, he felt he was actually doing us a favor. It was sort of like a little prison he had there.

You had to be in the ROTC; you had to buy a school newspaper; you had to speak English or be sent home; you had to wear your shirttails in, and a lot of junk like that. There has been restrictions on restrictions on restrictions and people have been coming out of there not learning anything and just wasting their time.

They have an intercom system and they turn it on and listen to you playing in the classrooms. Then they pull you into the office and yell at you because you had some idea that was kind of different. You know, it really got kind of funny, like they were the enemy. They started getting real hung on that intercom thing after we started our movement.

10351

The student council is run by one teacher and in 5 years she hasn't taught a class and doesn't have any other title except sister-in-law to the principal. They don't let us elect our own officers in the student council; they pick out the ones they want and then we vote on those two. This guy and a girl, both sort of expert on parliamentary procedure, had written up amendments to the student council constitution which said we wanted to elect our own officers. They had that guy in the principal's office for 8 hours and that girl was expelled. They didn't need any grounds. They were the administration; they know best and they kick out anybody they want to. This has been going on for years and years, but this time we were going to practice what they had been teaching us. We told them, ' Either straighten out or we walk out. '

We made a list of demands. We told them we wanted Mexican culture taught in the schools. We wanted to improve the curriculum to be able to compete with other students. We wanted algebra taught in the ninth grade and chemistry made available. We wanted a program for calculus and maybe computers. That's all we wanted—a fair shake. We wanted a constitution because nobody knew where the revised copy was. We wanted a voice in what they said was our student government; just the powers that they said we had, that's all. We were asking for so little.

We tried everything—we went by the channels. We weren't about to be told we were ignorant fools who didn't know how to handle themselves. We took our list of demands from the teachers to the administrator and he said, ' No, that's not the way it's going to be done. ' When this whole thing boiled up, the principal didn't know what the hell was going on. He is going to retire now and the whole thing is blowing over. What it amounts to is that we made a lot of noise and a lot of people aware that there was a problem, but the problem didn't actually get solved.

Roger

Roger is a black student from a large city in the eastern part of the country. He is a junior and attends an all-black school. He hopes to go to college.

We need to stop being treated like children. You have to realize that we are young men and women and some of our brothers are being drafted to go over there and fight. You are going to have to start relating to students and really giving them some meaningful position in the running of the school. The school is not there for the administrators and teachers; it is here for the students, so they should have some part in their education. The quality of that learning will be increased if students have an active, meaningful part in it—not just education as courses in the classrooms, but in outside activities, you know, and stop this fatherly bit by the administration—patting you on the shoulder and telling you whether you can do this or not.

You have just got to re-arrange the school so students really feel that it belongs to them; that it is their school. And doing this will help you with some of your so-called problems. You see, we find the administration is willing to let students run the social activities, but when students try to get involved in the education itself, they can't do that.

I found that our principal wasn't really concerned about the students—he just didn't want to rock the boat. The boat could sink, but just so it sank level, see—that's all he was concerned with. We have a new principal now, an acting principal. He is really concerned about the students. He is, you know, a man you can talk to and who will listen to you and, so far, he has gone along with what we say.

Right now a group of us are trying to work on a proposal for a meaningful, active student government to replace the current student council—that's supposed to be the thing that provides students with some school involvement. It really should be changed to the "social council" because that's all they do—they don't really do anything meaningful.

It's not a question of control, because there is nothing to control. The student council doesn't do anything, so it wouldn't matter if they were controlled or not. See, they don't function in areas that really would be reasonable to control. All they worry about is entertainment! The administration has come to the point where they will give us all the dances and parties we want, but you try and do anything that you feel is going to improve your education—they won't stand for that. That's not the job of the student council!

201

10352

We also proposed a "Student Bill of Rights" which will tell those teachers who consider students subhuman that we have the same rights as they do and that "if they want me to respect them, they have to respect me, too." This is the third revision of it. We found that it doesn't violate any school board regulations, nor any teachers' union or administration contracts. We are also trying to take a student census and see what courses they want next year and what new courses they would like to be established. See, we found that if a group of 15 or more students got together and want a course, it's up to the administration to find a teacher and a classroom for that course. Students didn't know about this. That's how we got our two new courses.

Before that, we had a boycott that shook up the administration, and they got on this "giving us everything we wanted" policy. We talked with the principal in September and October and November. He said he had been working on Negro history for 3 years, and that it would take time. The day after the boycott we had a meeting with some of the administrative and faculty representatives, and the next day we had our two courses. They gave us social-psychology and Negro history, but they didn't let anybody sign up for them. At the beginning of the semester they told us about the new courses, and some seniors signed up. Sophomores and junior heard about them and said, "Well, you can't take it because you didn't sign up for it in September." 'But the course was only started in February.' 'Well, that doesn't matter.'

So a lot of people didn't get to take it, because at first they were only offering the courses to seniors. The administration does little things like that then quickly reverses itself and says, 'Oh, that was a mistake. We didn't mean to do that,' you know, when they are caught being sneaky.

Robert

Robert is a junior for the second time. He is black and used to go to a predominantly white school, but now attends an all-black one. He lives in a medium-sized southern city. Robert is in a commercial track and is very interested in athletics.

I got into a fight with a couple of other fellows and one of them got hurt pretty bad. The man tried to say that I was all to blame so I got expelled from all schools in the city for a year. Well, mainly one reason I got expelled was that I had a gun on me on school property. But, see, the day I had the gun, I was going to pawn it for a boy because he was too young to do it himself. The man would never have believed that I was going to pawn it. He probably figured that I had it all the time, you know, so I didn't even try to explain it to him. I didn't say anything either when the school board expelled me. I stayed out for a whole year. I would probably still be expelled if I had done tried to get back in the white high schools. If I was going back to there, I'd probably get the same thing again, you know, another fight with somebody else. So the boys talked me into going to a black school.

The coach over at the other school was a nice man. I mean, if you was colored and you could do the job, you were going to do the job. He didn't go whether you was colored or white. I was just a sophomore and I played basketball and football about as good as some of the seniors did, but some of them parents didn't like that and they said something to him about it. He didn't pay much attention to them but I could tell, you know, it was getting to him a little.

And there was this girl. I don't know how it all happened but we started hanging around together and a whole lot of those old teachers, they didn't like that because she was a white girl. I mean, I couldn't help that, you know, and that is probably why I was having a whole lot of trouble in some of my classes. Like, I wear glasses and walk in my history class one morning, and I had my glasses hanging down over my nose looking over them. And she said, 'Take off those shades.' And I said, 'They're not shades; they're glasses.' She calls me a liar so I said, 'Well, look in them yourself!' She didn't want to look in them, so I kept my glasses on because that's what they're for. She sent me to the office for that. I went down there and told the assistant principal. So, I got 3 days for "being rude to the teacher." I didn't argue with them; I took the 3 days just like that. It wasn't because of my glasses or my eyes or nothing; it was because of that girl, I guess.

I don't think it's a good idea for students to be suspended

202

10353

because when you stay out of school they get on you, you know, when you come back. Somebody who likes to get suspended is going to do the same thing again and again, you know. I know some fellows like that. They know they're going to get suspended, so they do it anyway. Over at the other school if you cut one class, you get 3 days, so the fellows cut two or three classes and they get 6 or 9 days. So I don't see what good suspensions do. If you're in your homeroom class and they mark you present and you don't go to all your classes that day, they see that you're on the present list then they're going to send you in for a cut. So if you don't go to your homeroom, they can't mark you present and then you can go to the classes you want and not go to the ones you don't want to without getting sent in for a cut. See, if you don't take a subject from your homeroom teacher, they don't know if you are there or not. So that's how I get to stay out without being sent up for a cut and getting those days.

If I could change some of the things about our school, it would be the part about being suspended for every little thing you do; it probably wouldn't be as strict as most high schools although it would have to have some rules and regulations. If you don't, who would be in the school? At the black high school boys can't wear blue jeans and girls can't wear culottes. When boys wear Afros, the administration tries to make you get your hair cut closer. Some of the boys' hair does look kind of bad, so that's probably why the principal was saying something about getting it cut, but most of the girls look nice.

Clarence

Clarence is a black student who attends a predominantly white school in a medium-size southern city. He is a senior and is enrolled in an academic course. He plans to attend college and major in science.

We have a good principal. He doesn't even act like a principal; he's friendly with every student—I mean, he's a real good guy. He doesn't just set stock rules that "you have to be this" or "you have to do that"; or that you can't suggest anything to the school unless the administration or the teacher recommends it. He does some of the things that the students suggest. I also don't think he's prejudiced because he doesn't look on you as a different individual; he realizes your problems and tries to help all he can to eliminate them. But he knows that there's so far that he can go. You know, if he goes too far, the parents of the white students would probably kick and have meetings and the teachers probably would gripe.

After Dr. King's assassination, the principal decided he needed some type of committee around the school which could bring students together more and increase the knowledge and social activities among the races. And so we developed this biracial committee and it's been there for almost 2 years; and at several other schools, they couldn't even have such a committee. They couldn't even have any group. We published the constitution and told students what the purpose of the biracial committee was. Now we're sponsoring a Christmas dance. We also had an Air Force band play something like a musical symphony, and had some lawyers speak on how to improve race relations. We talked about each other and discussed the races, and now that there's more relaxing from the tension, we're more concerned with activities and getting along together. We don't bring up race; I mean, not deeply question anyone's opinion on race. We get at the problem by trying to avoid it; it's more of an avoidance of the issue by trying to put it in the back of your mind and say it's not there. In time, it will work out.

Most of the black students aren't in school clubs because they're formed by white groups and they are for the whites, not for the blacks. They do more activities that the Negro has no concern for. There is still this internal barrier that needs to be overcome. I mean, there's really nothing hindering a Negro or a white student over there, but I do wish the students would really get along.

Student council mostly carries on projects and raises money for certain events such as putting up lights or signs around the school. We're paving a parking lot now by selling magazines for the student council. Only a few Negroes are on it. They should put on more Negroes to better represent the school. Student council passes out booklets to all the freshmen which says what students can't and can do. There are rules in there regarding

203

10354

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204

dress—you can't wear pants or beards. Most of the students can't wear them anyway because of their fathers or their family'll probably make them cut them off. Black students are allowed to wear Afros. I haven't heard of anyone actually being called down for wearing their hair too long, but the principal usually makes a remark, you know, he'll say, 'You better see a barber shop,' or something like that. He'll make a comical statement and kind of hint at you to get a haircut.

We have certain privileges we get as students in 12th grade with a "C" average, like to go off campus during studies and lunch periods to eat. You can leave and walk around or do anything you want to. We have an area outside on the school grounds where we smoke; we don't smoke in the building and that's about the only place we can. Students smoke in the restrooms for convenience mostly. You know, to go all the way on the outside in the cold just to puff a cigarette, why you could probably get around a corner in the hallway and have a smoke. Last year we had two rooms on the top floor for smoking, but the fire department said it was a fire hazard to smoke inside, so now we're smoking on the outside.

Students get suspended for cutting classes, going off school grounds in a car, or acting unruly. Not too many get suspended though. Some students will cut classes on a day when there's a test and some won't go at all. Some students aren't, you know, —I guess if he doesn't have any set goal for himself, he's just in school because it's probably the only thing he has left to do. He'd probably go there and then leave the school grounds; if the courses are uninteresting to him, mostly then he won't even go.

Leasa

Leasa is a black student who attends a school where black students make up about one-half the student body. She is a senior. Her school is located in a large city in the Northwest, and, at the time of the interview, the school was experiencing much racial tension. Leasa plans to go to college next year and hopes to become an African history teacher.

Our former principal's a beautiful person. He was well aware of the problem in the central area and well aware of black students; he was just concerned; he was the kind of person, you could talk to frankly—you could tell him any gripes you had and he'd see what he could do about it. The thing that always makes me so mad is that last year, he aged like about 5 years and so he retired. He says it was for "health reasons," but these health reasons came about because of those middleclass Negroes who felt that he wasn't doing his job. They pressured him to the extent that he just had to retire or else he was going to have a heart attack. So we got another, the biggest racist. With the new one, you kind of have to play his game; you have to talk to him, but you have a B.S. line. I feel that he's only out for personal glory. He's the type of person for whom the school must look such and such a way to society and has to do such and such or the community won't like it.

He also always refers to us as children. 'Yes, the children seem to feel this way, the children are insecure, the children do this, the children do that.' We are young men and women coming up in the world. We are *not* children and it just infuriates us to no end!

We also have this thing about being called "boys". We are young men at high school; do not call us "boys"! It just does not work. Like somebody would say, 'They're nice boys and girls'—"boys"? I am not a boy, I'm a young man or a gentleman, but I am not a boy! It's a serious matter, really, because for so long Southerners would say, 'Hey, boy, come do this, that, and the other.' We just don't want anybody to call us "boys" anymore. The new principal has a lot to learn—he really does.

There was a big question, about having a Black Students Union. When the new principal first came to our school, he was all for the students. 'Students you can do anything you want, as long as you do it in an orderly and democratic manner.' You know, he was that kind of principal, probably thinking 'I've got to win the students to my side seeing as how this great transition is taking place.' And so, he said, "Yes, I'm all for the students." So they asked him, 'Well, can we have a Black Students Union?' At first he was pessimistic about it, 'Well, I don't really think it's needed, no, I don't think so. It's a prejudice-type thing because you're restricting it to only black students—we can't

10355

have this.' We said, "O.K., we'll open it to any students who are interested in the Black Students Union. They can become members. It's just that simple." He said, "Well, I don't know about that. I'll consider it." "O.K., Sir, you consider it. We'll talk to you tomorrow about the whole matter." So he was talked to. He said, "If the Executive Council passes it, you can have a Black Students Union." O.K. The Executive Council passed it. But then he said, "Well, I don't know, I really don't think so."

So the black students had a rally—everybody met in the front hall and were going into the principal's office to voice their opinions, but we never made it to the office. The people who were organizing it went to the office, talked to him, and he suddenly changed his tune. We have a Black Students Union now. Not that I am a member, but it was the principle of how he went about it that made me so mad.

Debby

Debby is a white student at a school with equal numbers of black and white students. The school is located in a large city in the Northwest. Debby is a senior and plans to go to college after graduation.

Our principal left at the half of this school year. We're not sure exactly, but he said for "health reasons" and I believe that could be because he looks so much better now. He's been worked very hard. He's been here for a long time and he's done quite a bit for it, and if there's been any problems, he's always been there trying to help solve them. He was very nice and understanding. If you met him in the hall, he either winked at you or he'd say, 'Hi,' or something. He was very nice and friendly. Our new principal is nice too; he's also white. He's pretty much the same as our other except that I think maybe he's a little bit more outgoing so as to be accepted by the kids.

I really haven't heard of too many rules that have been changed since he's come. I know he's letting more black student rallies be held for students of all races to come and participate in—not just for the black students. We have a Black Student Union here. They've asked for things like Negro history courses. I think it's going to become a necessary course next year—for everybody, all juniors. I'm not sure exactly how it all started but I think either the old or the new principal went to a board of trustees meeting or something and introduced the course proposal. They thought it was a good idea and they're trying it out for this year. It's taken pretty well and the kids are responding very well to it. I think it's going to be a steady thing, though there was no real pressure from the students to have it.

We have a very few, very ignorant students who are members of the Black Students Union. They wanted to have a meeting in the activities center and the new principal didn't want it because he thought it would be unfair to the other students since they wouldn't be able to participate. So the black students went and they sort of had a sit-in or a demonstration in the main office. It was ridiculous—they could have handled it in a much more grown-up way. I mean, at this school they hand you a lot of responsibility and you ought to be grown-up enough, at least when you're a senior, to take hold of the responsibility and to see that it's taken care of.

They went and they just sort of demonstrated. There was supposed to be an assembly but there was just a big mass of people: a big blockage of bodies in the front hall and it was hard to get into the auditorium and stuff. They soon dispersed when they found out how useless it was. The Black Student Union is now an organization within the school and is open to all. Anyone can come in, listen, and partake. I think it gave the new principal a chance to meet what he's probably going to be meeting up with in the future, because everything is not going to go peaches and cream you know, nothing ever is. I think it's given him a challenge and he's sort of trying out new methods of how to solve these problems. I guess it's kind of like when you're babysitting and the child does something that you're a little leery of—how can you get the child to change his mind without making him cry or upsetting him, or without him carrying through on his original ideas. So you hunt around for a way to solve it and pretty soon you find one. I think this is the way our new principal is with us. I really do like the way the school is run.

Dahlia

Dahlia is a senior in a school where black and Mexican American

205
10356

206

students make up one-half of the student enrollment. The school is located in a medium-sized city on the west coast. She is an Oriental American. Dahlia is an average student in the academic course and plans to go to college. She speaks of studying "a little of everything" and is uncertain as to what she will do.

I think racial tensions have lessened this year because of our principal. He gives us more of a chance to express ourselves, like, with this "open door policy". He leaves his door open to the hall, and anyone can walk in and say whatever is on their mind and they won't be disciplined for it. If they have a big gripe, they can just talk it all over. I've talked to the principal about racial gripes, and also, little things like about the water fountains and stuff. We have committees in student government, but sometimes they don't get to them as fast, so we can just go in and talk to him about it, and he usually, you know, inquires about it. Like our parking—that's always been a big problem because kids have their own cars and not everyone can park, so this year we found a new place to park just by going in and talking to him.

I remember the principal we had last year—we barely saw him. He was always in his office; he would be at games, but he didn't come out to the assemblies or say anything. Our new principal is really great! Everyone knows him; he talks to everyone and makes us feel that he is more a part of us than a part of the older generation.

The student council can make rules about student activities but the principal always has the control to say, 'Well, that's rash,' or whatever. On most issues, I think he should have the say about it because he has to present it in front of the faculty. But I think we have a pretty strong voice because as long as we put down the basic facts about what we want, then we can go on. Our power is pretty extensive now because we can more or less decide what is happening with students. We can pass on a lot of things among ourselves—like budgets and stuff. Our council parses most of those things, you know, and our principal usually signs his name and says, 'All right, we will do something about it.' He always looks into it, you know, and I think this year we have accomplished a lot. I think that if we had any more power, we would be running the school.

Running the school really depends on officers who have the ability to cope with the problems and everything. The administration should be there for discipline, but I do think our power is pretty extensive. The way we are now, we hear everything and have a suggestion box, and then those suggestions come into student government; we mull over those and then we just bring them to the principal and he sees what could logically be done about them. If it comes from student government, it has gone through committees and everything to make sure that everything is right, and then we present it.

I've enjoyed being in student government; I like to be a part of things. I feel that I want to do something at the school or I want to feel like I have gone to this school for, you know, other reasons than just for an education. Student government coordinates all the activities that go on campus; this year it has really been a good class. We have officers appointed by the director of student activities, the sponsor, and the elected officers themselves. This way, we get Negro students and the other minorities, too, and have representation from the different sides; whereas last year, only a certain little elite group held all the votes, ran for office, and got in.

We also have different kinds of committees. We have a "Boys' League" and a "Girls' League" that work on things like clothes —we had a big changeover in the boys' hairdos and stuff this year because there were protests. The guys wanted to wear long hair but the rule was your hair had to be above the collar. I don't like long hair on guys though they should have the right to wear it long if they want to. They should be able to as long as it is clean. You can tell by the way a person dressed how he is—that's how I personally feel. Now, see, they let it come to the bottom of their collars and their sideburns can also be longer. I think this year the system is a lot better. Control over such decisions depends upon the issue really. Everyone should be able to go by what is set down in the rules, and if a rule is broken, then disciplinary action should be taken. I guess a lot of students would be hard on each other if breaking the rules hurt everyone, you know. The only way you can get discipline or disciplinary action is if you go to an adult.

You can tell we aren't together at school. Kids don't support

10357

our sports activities as much this year because of the riots and stuff. The Negro kids all feel, 'Why should we do anything for the school if the school doesn't do anything for us. They just want our ability so that they can get a better name.' Last year there was a fight between a Negro and a white guy on the track team. The Negro person refused to run because he felt he was disciplined differently from the white guy and he was kicked out of school. It wasn't true because I knew the guy he had the fight with and he was kicked out too! We also knew there was going to be a problem with the prom because there are kids who like the psychedelic music and kids who like the soul music. There was a big uproar and now we're having two rock 'n roll bands: one soul and one psychedelic. It was the only way to keep everyone quiet.

Communication between students could be a lot better as there's been a lot of unrest with the Negroes and whites. The administration has been trying to bring them together, but right now no one much cares. At the beginning of the year, everyone was all tensed wondering what was going to happen with the new principal. We could all talk about the racial tension quietly and everything but mostly the only times they talk is if something happens. I think we should have more talking done. Like, right now, when there is not so much trouble. The administration shouldn't wait for something to happen, but that's what they usually do.

Tanya

Tanya, a white student, is a junior at a nearly all-white school in a large city in the Southwest. The school was recently built and has the city's most modern educational facilities. Tanya, a top academic student, expects to go to college after graduation. She is thinking about becoming a teacher.

Last year we had the neatest principal, then he retired. This one that we got this year wants to run everything just like a dictator practically. Everybody hates him because he is sickening. You never see him around the halls or anything. It just seems like he sits up there like a little king and gives orders.

Like we were working on this civil rights thing and we wanted to have students come and, at least, explain to the classes what was going on, what we could do, and stuff like that. He wouldn't let us because it was too controversial to have in a high school. Every time you try and do something, I don't know—it's just that we've petitioned for a lot of things in that school and we never get anything. We petitioned for better dress codes once, and we petitioned once for a boy who got kicked out of sports for some stupid reason; we petitioned for integration—just to get some information. Our petitions are turned into the student council and nobody knows where they go after that. No changes have been made. None at all! We made up a declaration of rights about the right to wear what you wanted to we passed it around and got lots of signatures. The principal and everybody listened and that's as much as we heard. Nobody would do anything.

Somebody makes the rules, so somebody has got to be able to change them. If there were a student discipline committee I think we'd be harder on each other than the adults would, but at least it would be more fair than the faculty is, and nobody would get mad. We are all pretty sensible about things even though some of us might get carried away by an idea. I just think that nobody gives us credit for being responsible. They should at least give us a chance, but they always say, 'Well, if we let you do this, then within the week everything is going to be all messed up.' If we let you have sideburns, well next you are going to want beards and next you will want hair down to your ankles.' Nobody wants to be all that weird! They are only doing it, you know, just to fight the administration. If they were a lot more lenient on dress codes, everything would stay about the same, and I don't think we would want to try all those extreme things. Perhaps at the very beginning, but by the end of the year, everything would just blend back in because kids judge each other, you know.

This one boy I know had a picket sign saying, "Integrate Now." The principal didn't know what to do, so he went down to the boy's advisor, and sat down there for hours. Then when we had a student council election, the principal wouldn't let him run. He said that my friend was truant because he had brought that sign, and that he should have just gone to class. The kids from student council went to the principal and said

207

10358

that they were going to change the election rules so that truancy wouldn't be counted. The principal threatened to veto anything the student council did. He has the power to do that. It's really discouraging because he even said that he is not going to let us do anything!

It seems like mostly what our student council does is have birthday cakes. This year, nobody has been very happy with it. Our "head girl" completely goes with the administration. She won't fight the administration on anything, or she hasn't this year. And the "head boy" just kind of left things up to her. Next year, it's not going to be the same because there was really a reaction and the two new officers are completely different.

Students have to be willing to risk a little pride and be humble enough to talk to the administration, I guess. That's the way the administrators want it, you know. But we've talked with them before, without being belligerent or anything; we tried, except that it seems like it's going to take a lot of trying before we'll convince them. Administrators are very uncourageous men. They're scared to change.

Rick

Rick is a white student who attends an all-white school in the suburbs of a medium-sized midwestern city. A senior, he is in an academic course and plans to major in sociology or psychology when he begins college next year.

I don't particularly get along with the principal and it seems to me he makes no effort to get along with anybody. I think that most people would agree with that. He runs his school with an iron hand—you almost go in and salute him and even the teachers in that school are intimidated. He has this very hard attitude and he isn't friendly. He makes no attempt at really getting through to the students; he just isn't concerned with that. I think that's really important, you know, just to get some human concern.

He just thinks of students keeping up the high scholastic average that his high school has always maintained. All he's concerned with is that we're neatly groomed, clean, and come from nice, respectable families—and that's it! He doesn't care what we think or how we feel or anything. He runs a tight ship and he does a good job. He's a good administrator as far as getting things done, but he doesn't let many people get to know him. He has his nose in everything; he's—he knows what's happening in class and out because he makes a point to talk to teachers. I guess it is a good thing.

I'm sure that he is a little bit scared of intellectual people who do something really creative and probably radical for the general attitude of the school is to stifle discussion and new things. He's fairly indicative of what the community wants. The principal is very quick and alert and sharp about coming back with legal answers about why and how to do things, but a few people in the student council were sort of wondering what this school is doing. They wanted to raise a few questions, but after they're answered by the man upstairs, then it's all right. The kids just don't care that much, so it doesn't bother them. See, most kids dress in university type clothing and keep their hair shortened down because mom and dad like it that way. Growing a beard isn't their idea of cool. I don't think the principal really has anything to be scared about. His main problem is just discipline—you know, being sent down to the principal's office for an hour. Big deal!

I'm not really concerned with the ultimate decision about being kicked out of school for growing my hair long, it's just the fact that it's so totalitarian and the principal has so much autonomy within the school. It would really be good if there was some sort of understanding between the teachers and students as to what is happening and why they are doing things. There is so much of this, 'Just do it because I said so,' stuff. Two times a teacher said to me, 'Do something,' and I said, 'Why?' and they said, 'Because I said so,' and I said, 'That's no reason to me.'

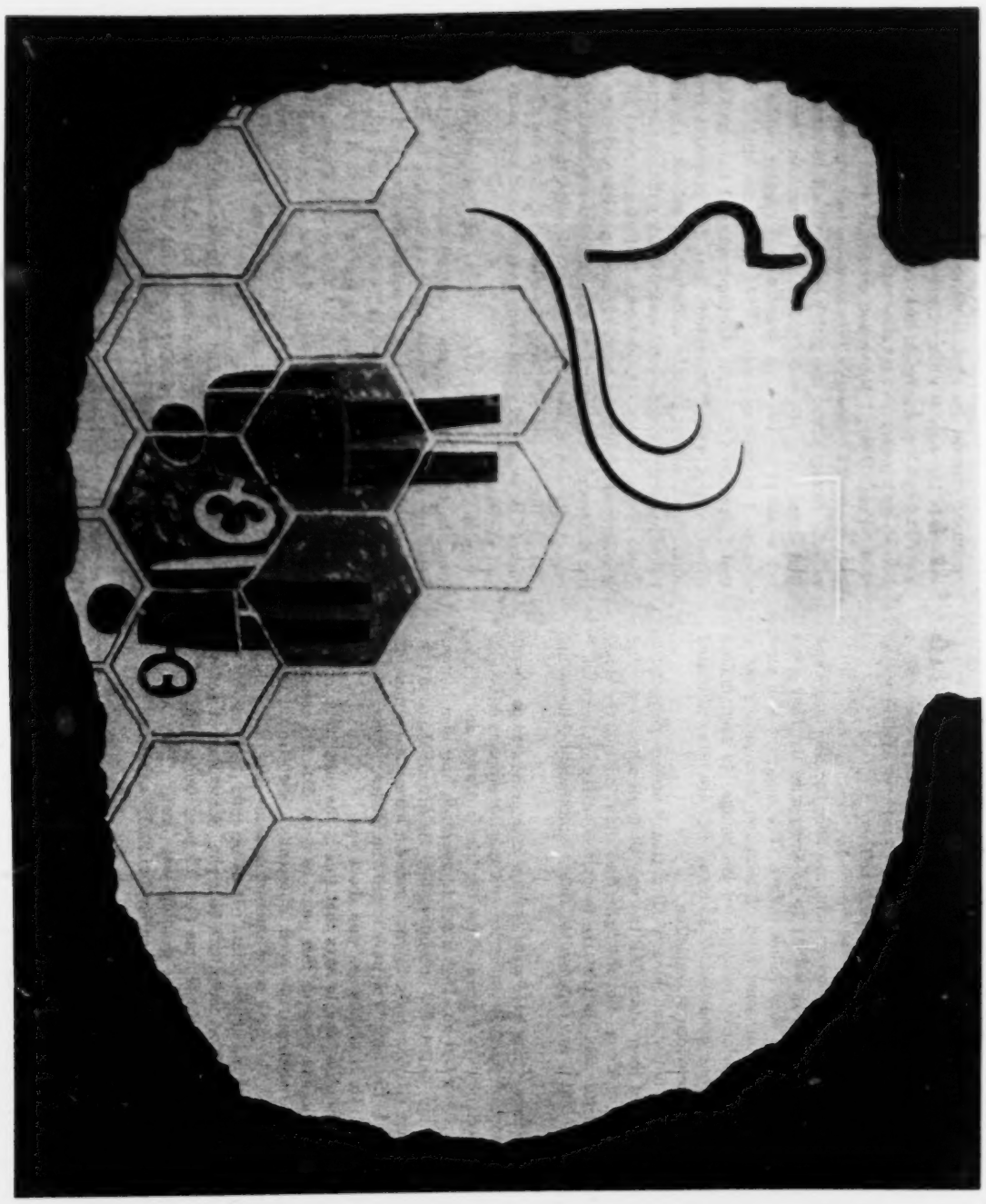
The principal was nice to me, relatively, about my suspension. I wouldn't get a haircut, so he made an appointment to see me and said, 'You can come back after you get a haircut.' Usually he paid for the first one. So I walked down to the barber shop. One time the principal said, "That's not short enough," so I went back, got another and came back with nice short hair. He looked at me and gave me the welcoming of the prodigal son and said, 'Now you look like a white boy.' Wow, I really gave him hell for that. I said, 'Don't you ever say that to me again.'

208

10359

Teachers

10361



211

10362

Kris

Kris is a white student in her senior year in a small city school on the west coast. The school is predominantly white with a minority enrollment of approximately 15 percent. Kris is taking academic courses and plans to go to college.

There are a lot of teachers who are here because they know the system and they're willing to go along with it. They don't ask questions and they follow orders. You might as well have a tape recorder or some kind of computer because it's not a human being relating to other human beings. In fact, it does more harm than good because so many kids are being alienated from the whole idea of education.

The most important thing of all is that a teacher respect the students and their ideas. All the way through school I got the same kind of thing. I'm sitting in that chair, part of the class, and I'd better find out that the teacher is sitting higher than I am, and that I am supposed to follow—ultimately follow—his rules.

The teacher may have some feelings of how he's more liberal than most of those in authority and that he respects his kids, but there's always a place where the line is drawn, and this is as far as you can go. If you try to approach him in a human relationship, he gets too uncomfortable. He can always send you someplace else, complain to your parents, lower your grade, or send you to the dean. You have to call him Mister; he doesn't call you Miss. He is always one step above you.

If my English teacher says that this is the interpretation of a poem and she gives us this point to do as a test, I miss the boat if I've analyzed the poem differently. She'll say, 'That's wrong. Well, you have some interesting ideas here, but I think you've missed the entire point.' It never enters her mind that it's possible that we could both be right. Sometimes, it gets to the point where they'll tell me that it's possible for the two of us to be right, but, 'I'm grading you, dear.' They actually openly admit this kind of hypocrisy, but it still exists and there's no way of bucking it.

I'm not satisfied to sit in my English class and learn a very sterile rigid program of authors and plays. Students have a universal interest in what is going to connect in their lives because of this age. It's like we were doing memorization during our American literature class last year, and a girl had memorized Bob Dylan's poetry because she really liked it a lot. The teacher said, 'Fine. Okay, I'll give you credit for your 60 lines;' but then proceeded to portray Bob Dylan as being a phoney and a sellout. Immediately, the girl was turned off to that teacher, that class, and to the whole business of American literature.

I would enjoy teaching, but not in a regular public school, because I would feel really stifled under the kind of system that I have been through. All the teachers I have had in high school, almost without exception, have felt pressures from the administration that certain controversial subjects shouldn't be talked about in the classrooms because they will cause arguments. There is controversy outside about welfare and about all kinds of programs, and these same kinds of conflicts will come up in the classroom. Teachers are given a State-recommended textbook and a curriculum that they are supposed to cover for the year, so they do the best they can with what they are allowed, I guess. The kids in turn are really boxed up and kept away from controversial subjects.

I think I created a lot of trouble for my teachers all the way from the beginning, because I argued about things that concerned me about presentations in the texts, and the films, particularly the anti-Communist, pro-America kind of film. They are older films which, in general, are slanted and don't give a realistic picture of the world and how we fit into it now and in the future. I am not getting the things that I want to learn, and I just get so disgusted seeing the rest of the kids absorbing this kind of education without any doubts in their minds, and, not having a chance to talk about it with other people, these kids may never question it.

Most of the teachers feel the obligation of Friday-bring-a-news-clipping-and-talk-about-it-day, but that doesn't expand into an effective coverage of controversial issues, because usually, you give a little review of your article, but that's all. You don't get much chance in the classroom to talk about these issues unless the teachers individually buck whatever pressures are put on them and carry on the classroom the way they want to talk

about the things they want to talk about.

I know of one counselor who ignored the textbook and spent almost all the time talking about outside things, and they weren't always directly connected with history, though he did tie the things in with the curriculum. The kids were really excited with that teacher and with that class. This was about the only class that they felt really excited about; the rest of it was wading through, getting the required things done. Every single history class I have ever had, the teacher starts at the beginning of the textbook and works his way through it, and lots of times, we never make it through the books, never get to the 20th century.

Kids are aware of how irrelevant grades are. They come to class and their first 2 weeks is an orientation period to figure out what kinds of things the teacher is going to ask them, how much they have to and don't have to do to get the kind of grades they want. You figure it all out and you can snow a teacher. I have been through 4 years of high school with maybe two or three grades that meant anything to me at all. I have gotten A's and B's all the way through, and it's really frightening for me to see my grades coming out like that and get commended for it. As a result I am funneled into college prep courses, the honor roll, and other kinds of things that I am being given because of my grades, and I see another kid in my social studies class, or some other class who is killing himself. He gets C's just because he doesn't quite get the hang of this, how to get through the maze, how to get on the right side of the teachers. That kid far more deserves the credit that I get and the grades that I get than I do because I haven't really worked. It is hard for me to understand why teachers don't see this big problem of orientation to college and do something about it, because it just seems as though this is the whole idea in high school. If you are successful, that means you are going on to college, you learned to beat the game, you have not really learned how to study, but what to study for individual teachers. I can pass my chemistry tests now without learning any chemistry, because I know my chemistry teacher. It is the same in all the other courses.

A lot of teachers concern themselves with the middle section of people. They are all the time addressing these students with the realization that they are the middle and you have the top and the bottom students that are stuck there.

The kids come tramping in and they sit down and she expects them to cut up and not to have the same kind of thoughts as the other kids. You can't expect this low English class to use the same tools as effectively as the high English or they wouldn't have been put in there in the first place, but their thoughts are equal or maybe better because they are aware of things that are far more realistic as far as seeing how people act and what's really happening around them; more so than the kids in the higher class who may have just been aimed in on their own little game and are so involved in it that they don't see what is happening outside. They don't realize what is happening outside of their own little world. That may be where the discrepancy is, that the teachers are expecting inferior thoughts, inferior mental ability from these kids, which isn't true at all.

I don't think you can even blame the individual teachers, because they are not consciously doing this. It is automatic for the teacher who is handed a class that is a high English class to give them different material. She has more of an identification with them than she has with her next period that is classified as a low English class.

Kevin

Kevin is a white student who attends a school in which the black, Indian, and Oriental enrollment is about one-half. The school is located in a large city in the Northwest. Kevin is a senior and plans to attend college.

They're still running our school the same as they're running an all-white school. And the teachers just don't understand the students—by and large, I mean, there are exceptions. And they're, you know, very outdated I think.

There are some specific teachers that have teaching methods that, you know, they give you a book and you memorize a chapter and you learn things and write them down. The students come from different cultural backgrounds. The teachers just don't identify with students and the students don't identify with the teachers. There's one incident I can recall. A teacher started getting down on a black student because of his accent. It was a

212

10363

history class, and he was talking about walking a certain distance, a mile. The teacher said the word is mile and wrote it on the board and just spent about 2 minutes trying to get this guy to pronounce m-i-l-e instead of mahl. That's a small thing and maybe it's not in itself bad, but just the whole idea that some teachers here really, just don't grasp why students are the way they are, particularly the black students and minority race students.

They are there to teach but teachers come to the classroom and the student doesn't want to learn and so they say, well I'm not going to teach them. They don't make any effort to understand that student and why he doesn't want to learn; why he sits on his butt and shoots spit wads and chatters with the girls. The teachers see it as not wanting to learn. They don't want to learn what the teachers are pushing at them. I mean, I think everybody wants to learn. But there's nothing they can identify or relate to as far as the teachers go, because they grow up from birth—you know their parents, et cetera—it goes back and back.

They come from a different environment. Their ways of talking, their ways of eating, you know, the way they sleep, what kinds of activities they have outside the school, and the facilities they have for studying, things are just not the same as maybe a white student's are. When you get a white teacher in the class, he's brought up the same way as most of the white students are—relative to the times. And the black student just cannot identify with the teacher who comes back after a weekend and says, 'Well, how many of you went skiing?' Most of them spent their time in a pool hall or something.

If you were white middle class—and there weren't many as far as the total population of our school goes—these white middle class students were his pets. You could see it; this is the way the whole teaching staff seemed to be to me, that they'd go into a class and automatically rate students. If you're white and dressed nicely and cleanly, you're at the top.

There are teachers who've done quite a bit to try to get things changed. They've had a lot of squabbling in faculty meetings and things. I talk to certain teachers that don't mind telling what goes on behind the doors who tell me that they argue for hours on things and nothing ever gets accomplished.

I think the majority of the teachers just want to sit back, and if a guy gets into trouble, kick him out. You don't get any heat from anybody outside the school, so everything's fine, and they have only those guys in class that supposedly want to learn or those guys that will sit there like rocks and listen to them.

There are some teachers that I have respected for making attempts at having some kind of education go on in school, teachers who can't understand or fully comprehend what's going on in minority students' minds because they are white. Maybe they don't need to. They are a lot more flexible and they allow a lot more freedom in the classroom. It's not really necessary that the teacher identify in every aspect with the students, but the more so, the better. Teachers, at least, have to recognize the difference.

The way some teachers overcome this has been to recognize and employ the differences, and let the student function in relation to his upbringing and environment. So instead of in an English class, writing an essay and having the teacher correct it and comparing it to Winston Churchill's essays, she might look at it from the viewpoint of where this guy comes from, how he has grown up, what kind of person he is, what facilities he has, what kind of thinking he does, and how his thinking has developed. It might be a good essay despite obscenities or so-called grammatical errors.

But for the most part the teachers that really need to go period, are teachers who come in the classroom with mimeographed question sheets. If you lose one, you pay a dime because someone has to go out and run a few more off the mimeograph machine. They have set courses and set patterns and nobody can disrupt these. They don't realize that, for good or bad, it's changing on the outside and you need to adapt yourself and your teaching methods. And they don't allow any flexibility. There's just one set of rules. The teacher will only allow certain results whether the group be white middle class, Chinese kids who don't speak English, or a special class. They just can't see that there are differences. There are needs to be met other than those to which they would direct themselves in other schools. The teachers don't come from an environment which coincides in any way with the environment of most of the students they

213

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214

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are dealing with. That's partly it. Others of them are just ignorant of the problems. Even within racial groups or any group, a person is an individual, and teachers are incapable of dealing with a person as an individual.

James

James is a white student in his junior year at a racially mixed school in a large city in the Northeast. Having received several offers of athletic scholarships, he plans to attend college to further his education.

I have a thing where I feel teachers out as soon as I come in there the first day. If they can't take a joke, what is he? Does he have feelings down inside? I mean, does he just come to school in the mornings and punch in and just come down to the class and teach a bunch of kids all day and then walk out. I like to see if they have feelings deep down inside.

This year I have an electronics teacher who is really a good teacher. He told everybody the first day that he wanted total cooperation. I have him three periods a day. Our first period is supposed to be theory, but before he starts talking about theory he gives us a little message. He tells us what he did when he was in the war and all that. He talks on our level, and tells us about how he was educated and his likes and dislikes. People respect him for it. But if I get one of these teachers that walk in and say, ' There is the book, this page, do it. That's nice, I'll check it again at the end of the period,' he is not putting the lesson across to you.

My history teacher puts the lesson across to me. He puts it down in kids' terms. He knew what the kids' problems were and that's why I think he is the 12th grade class sponsor this year. I went to meetings with him and we participated in a lot of activities together. I think he is a hell of a guy. Even when I'm not in his class and I see him in the halls he comes up to me and talks to me. I tell him what I think. He respects my opinion and I respect his. I think he is a pretty intelligent man.

I don't put down the Negro teachers, because a teacher is a teacher. I don't care what color he is. Some teachers put the lessons down a different way. I had this teacher one year, a Negro teacher, who put down a white guy. I could see that she had this hate against white people. I couldn't even say one nice thing about her—that's just how mean she was. I don't like a teacher who is going to put you down for everything you are going to do. She didn't have a kind word for nobody. I really do think she hated white people. She did treat the colored boys in the class a lot better. I have met a lot of prejudiced teachers; it is nothing new to me.

I think that all the teachers should be required before they come in the school to take a psychology course that would clue them in on what is really happening. They should have textbooks made up with facts on what to do in certain situations, like when a fight breaks out in a class she might faint or something. But I think they should be required to take this kind of course before they are allowed to teach in the system.

A perfect teacher is a guy that puts the lesson across to me and I get something out of the lesson, something that I can take with me until the day I die; one that wouldn't be prejudiced at all, you know, just put the facts down; not giving too much time to one student than he would to another student. I like a good discipline teacher, a real good mean teacher. I have had teachers that when you walk in a room you'd say you can't stand her, but I would like her because she kept her class intact. Nobody would step on her. As soon as they start stepping on you, you lose your respect. I like a good teacher who is going to really lay down the law. I am going to school to be taught, and I figure if I've got to be here eight hours or whatever is required, I'm going to get something out of it. If you are disciplined right, you are going to learn and get the full value of the process of learning.

Edna

Edna is a Mexican American student who attends a school with a large black enrollment and a few Anglo and Mexican American students. The school is located in a large midwestern city. Edna is a senior and plans to attend college to study mathematics.

My English teacher will say, "We will have a spelling test today," and the kids will say, "No, let's not have it today, let's

have it some other day." She will either go along with it or not give it at all. She doesn't go by the rule of the head office here at school. For instance, there is a paper we have due next week. We were getting it all ready and she found out this other teacher wasn't having it due until sometime in December, so now she changed her mind and said we could have it done in December. Well, this is good for the kids that didn't have it started, and it is still good for the ones that have it finished already, but she shouldn't have changed her mind. That is giving the students a lot more leeway than we really deserve. Maybe she is trying to be responsive to what the class says rather than to the school office.

I haven't learned any English since the 9th grade, and I haven't had a good English teacher since then. My English teacher gives us a spelling test every week and then a make-up spelling test the same week. We do have a little bit in our grammar book and read a little bit of literature. The rest is just a fun session. She will start some discussion and, for some reason, it will be changed. Then everybody starts talking about something else. People are bored.

We have an economics class and the kids just go to sleep in there. There is at least five asleep there every day. It is just too boring. There is nothing to make us listen. The teacher just lectures and brings his personal life into the subject. He used to own a business, and tries to show us the way you can apply our economics to his business. It's a good example, but you just get tired of the same example.

The other day we had a substitute because he was absent. We kids really liked that substitute. He was teaching us out of the book, telling us about the Interstate Commerce Commission and explaining how it worked. Then he would read out of the book and explain it. We had a discussion about rates and everything and when everybody went out of the class, they hoped our teacher would be absent again so we could have him as a substitute because he was teaching us something. But the regular teacher came back the next day and things started over again like they were.

My physics teacher is a swell guy. He is not really strict, but he doesn't have to be strict because the kids get along with him so well. When he tells us to turn something in, we just turn it in. The kids don't try to cut his class, you could, if you wanted, but you don't want to. There would be no sense in it. Sometimes when we don't want to do the work we will say, "Why pound it on us, we will do it next week." And he will say, "I am getting paid to teach you and if I don't teach you, I am just getting paid for nothing."

First he will lecture, then he will give you some problems to do, and then if you can't do them, he will help you. He won't show you exactly how to do them, but he will help you. After everyone is finished, he will go to the board and go through all the problems. If you didn't get them the first time, you will get them the second time. That way, by the time you get to the test, you will know how to do them.

There's around 20 students in the class and out of those 20 there's four whites. The teacher is white, but he treats us all alike. In another class the teacher tries to be more easy on the colored students. Like some white kids could get something that would be better than the mark of the colored students, but she would give the colored students a higher grade. She is white; I can't see why she would do it.

Our civics teacher was a good teacher. We went through the whole Constitution and what we didn't understand, he would explain. We didn't go by the book in that class, either, but what he lectured on pertained to the material that was in the book. He brought up current things, often enough for us to realize what was going on. We were talking about the racial conflict right when they were having the riot and nobody walked out on his class. He was a strict guy, and nobody had the nerve to walk out. I don't see why anybody would be scared of him, but while they were walking out and busting windows and everything, there we sat discussing the problem.

Daniel

Daniel is a junior in a school which is located in a large city in the Southwest. Daniel is Mexican American and attends a school with black, Anglo, and Mexican American students. The Mexican American student enrollment is the largest. Daniel

215

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216

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plans to attend college and become a lawyer.

We have an old school faculty; there are a lot of old teachers. About 50 percent of them are Mexican American and about 50 percent are Anglo. On the whole, they are real nice and try to help in every way they can. Some don't care what kind of education the students get or how much just as long as they put in their day at school, but some are interested in the students.

I had an American history teacher who was a real nice man and seemed to be interested in the students and the community. He is an Anglo, but spends most of his life with Mexican Americans. He expressed ideas to us that we never realized about things that are being done wrong in our society. We didn't use a book, we just studied. He taught us from his research notes because the books we had were very old and didn't show both sides of the actual story. He pointed out both sides, not just Mexican Americans were wrong like we had been taught in other books. He didn't have to be strict because he was a very interesting teacher; he didn't have to tell the class to be quiet or anything like that because he let us talk. He could relate to students very well; I guess he had been working with them for so many years. He was trying to help get changes in the school and tried everything he could. He got in trouble and was called into the principal's office because he let us talk about outside issues in class.

My Spanish teacher was born in Mexico, but in her early years, came to the United States. She is an Anglo and a real nice lady who has tried to help us in everything we tried to do. She is a very good teacher and lets us speak out in class about things that we want to talk about. She never had to discipline any students. When she tells us to settle down to learn, we always do. We only had to study one literature book, but in the book reports we could select our own books and read whatever we wanted to. She didn't stress grades too much.

I think it would be good to have a Mexican American principal and teachers for Mexican Americans because when you are late for school or something and try to explain to an Anglo, "Well, I had to take my little brother to school or I had to do a lot of chores about the house before I left," the Anglo may have never had to do that when he was going to school. Maybe he had a maid around his house and never had to make up a bed or anything before he left for school. If he has never done that, he would probably think that you are lying, whereas a Mexican American has gone through the same thing and knows the problem. If you have never had the problem, you can't understand it from an outside point of view.

I think students could evaluate a teacher's ability to teach school, not because we are authorities on education or anything, but we do know when we understand a teacher. There could be a teacher with a Ph.D., but if he didn't know how to present his material or pass it on to us, what he knows is doing us no good. The only way to know how good a teacher is, is by the kinds of students he produces.

Rosa

Rosa is Mexican American. She is a senior in a suburban school near a medium-sized west coast city. About 50 percent of the students are Anglo. Mexican Americans and blacks comprise the remaining school population. Rosa has been taking business courses but wants to go to college next year to study elementary education.

When I first transferred last year, I couldn't stand the Spanish teacher because he was real strict. He won't let you get out of your chair for anything. If your purse falls, there it stays. I started talking to him and told him I wasn't used to being treated like that; I like to be respected just like an adult, and if he wanted me to respect him, he had to respect me. He explained that it was just a discipline thing; he had to keep discipline in his class and he couldn't show favoritism, so we had an understanding. I told him that the students are very afraid of him as if he would be a dictator. He started laughing, but I was really angry. He said that he hadn't realized he was being that hard on us. The next day in class he mentioned what I had said and the students all laughed. Since then, he is real nice. It is a very disciplined class, but we get to talk and laugh a little, and he talks with us and jokes.

He is a great teacher and gets along well with all of the stu-

dents. He showed films from Mexico and Spain because we are studying about them, but we haven't had any lectures. He gives a lot of tests, a quiz practically every day. I think that is important, I really do. If he asked us to do a certain assignment and didn't test us or quiz us, we would take it for granted and study the day before the test. Now we are all studying the material while he is giving it.

I had two teachers that I disliked very much because they were very prejudiced. One was in the ninth grade when I was going to summer school. I was the only Mexican in the class, and there was one colored boy. When I have makeup on, I look like an Oriental. I went into this class and the teacher started talking about Mexicans being blanket-wrappers and chili beans, and things like that. He was saying Mexicans didn't apply themselves and wouldn't be good students and the colored kids were worse. I was getting steamed up, but since it was my first year, I was kind of timid. So I says, "I will just keep quiet." And he just keeps talking and talking. Then he mentioned something about Mexicans being the dumbest ones he has in his classroom and at that time I was holding a B+ average. I said, "I don't think I am dumb," and he just looked at me and said, "Are you Mexican American?" I said, "Yes, I am Mexican American from head to toe," and he just looked at me and said, "Well, there are some exceptions." I told him I didn't think it was nice for him to talk like that in class and he said, "Well, I will talk to you after class." I said, "Well, if you have the nerve to talk about us in class, I don't see why you shouldn't discuss it with me now. I don't know whether this young man, the colored boy, will stand up for his rights, but I am going to stand up for mine. I am not dumb and I don't even think I will ever be." Now, he is real nice with me, he is always calling me "sweetheart" and "sweetie" and all this. I think he is phoney to the core; he is phoney. I never thought of myself as being dumb or smaller than other people just because I was Mexican American.

The other teacher I disliked was my Business English teacher. That was last year. I would be in an honor society if it wasn't for her. I had an A in there and I knew I had an A in there. I would get straight A's in all my tests and everything I handed in and still she would give me a B+. She said she didn't think I deserved to be a member of the honor society because I had a bad attitude.

When we asked her to show us how to do an assignment, she would never help us. She would say, "You are supposed to know." One time when she told me I was supposed to know some fact, I said, "Well, they told me I was coming to school to learn. I wasn't supposed to know everything. You are the ones that have the degree; we don't." She got mad and told me to meet her after class. That's when she told me that she would never give me an A because I had a bad attitude. She knew I needed that A, that's the only reason she gave me a B+. I didn't speak to the principal or to my guidance counselor about it, because, you see, they are always on the teacher's side. I figured if I keep on getting good grades, maybe she will feel differently about me but she never did.

The history teacher we have is very interesting and very intelligent. What I like about him is that he tells us about past experiences and what he used to do, and he doesn't go by everything that the book says. He lectures on a certain day. He always puts the schedule on the board, and we always know what is going to happen the next day until the end of the week. He grades you by points. You get certain points on the tests and if you participate in class, he gives you points for that, too. He won't ever ask you to make up a test; he will leave it up to you. I told him one time that I had to take two tests, and asked if I could take his test a week later. I took it a whole week later, and he didn't say anything. He is not prejudiced at all. The reason why I said that is because some teachers, once a student is absent from school and he is Mexican or colored, they give him an F and say, "Well, you didn't come; you should have known."

My music teacher is real nice with the Mexicans, but he calls the colored people savages. He won't say it to them, but he will say it to me. I am always telling him I have a lot of friends that are colored, and I don't appreciate it anyway. I tell him to shut up, because we are pretty close friends. He is not prejudiced at all with me, but with a lot of the colored kids, he is.

If I were rich and had money, I don't think that I would

21P
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consider teaching because I would tend to be prejudiced. The best teachers are the ones that come from a similar background and know the kids' problems and how they feel about certain things. I feel that the person that is going to teach at a school that is composed of minority groups should be somebody that at least knows or has studied the problem, and not one that goes in there thinking he is going to tear all those little ignorant people up.

LUCY

Lucy is a black student who attends a school in a large city in the Northeast. Her school is predominantly white. She is a senior and plans to attend college.

Teachers don't give you a bad mark because you're black. But that's funny, too, because the education is white middle class type education and most of the black students who go there from black junior high schools are not prepared to do the kind of work that the teachers ask them to do. They fail to achieve—not directly because they're black, and not directly because the teachers are prejudiced against them, but because of inferior education in most black elementary schools and junior highs.

I had one very good English course in the black junior high school I went to. The teacher was very interested in things that meant something to us. And she would ask us to express ourselves in writing about things that really meant something to us, whereas, at the white high school we're asked to be able to write nice words on a nice piece of paper. The teachers are set on getting you through these college boards and into college and that's about it. It doesn't seem that they're that much interested in their course, but they want you to be able to do your reading comprehension on your college boards and do it well.

My French teacher is my best teacher. She teaches very well and she knows how to manage a class. I'm in a class that isn't particularly interested in French and a lot of them are younger students. I'm one of the few seniors in class—and she really has to be a talented person to keep the class going. She talks to us a lot, rather than just teaching us grammar. She wants us to speak the language and talk back to her. It's not a dull class because she keeps us busy. She's very good at teaching her material and getting it across in class, so that even the little homework she does give is very easy because you know your French.

My English teacher is black. I'd rather not talk about her. She's very nonchalant and really not very interested in teaching. I think she's there to draw the salary like so many teachers. Once in a while she communicates with the kids, but the class is more like a study hall. We're asked to read some books and once in a while we have a discussion, but very little if anything goes on in the class.

My government teacher thinks that rules are becoming too lenient, that the criminal is being allowed to get away in too many cases with all the court decisions saying that police have to tell the criminal or the accused person his rights and various things like that. And,well, I think that her feeling against what she calls leniency is subtle prejudice on her part, because all these things were formerly used against black people who don't know their rights in court. We are the people who have been taken advantage of so much. She brought the case of the looting and property damage out in saying that this was part of the new leniency. She took no recognition of the fact that what these storekeepers were doing was wrong. She and the class didn't want to even try to understand the looters' position or any of the feelings that people in the black community have, but just wanted to recognize the people who had spent their lives building up businesses that were destroyed. Until I or another black student brought it up, no mention was made of these people cheating the neighborhood people out of their money for years and years and years, the inferior quality of the goods, and all this. We had to just hammer at the students and the teachers before they would even concede a little bit that we were right about the suffering. You have to admit that the black community is in bad shape and that the people have been held down and cheated. People had to finally admit that this was right, that whites just want to hold on to their illusions, and their righteous feelings. They hold onto it until somebody just smacks it out of their hands.

218

10369

If I were teaching a group, I'd want to know what they want to learn as individuals. I would find out what they already know, and then I would try to start with that and branch out into other areas. Because usually, as people learn what they want to know, they find out something else. Make it interesting. Compare something happening back then with something that's happening today. Make some kind of connection with people's everyday life. This keeps people from getting sleepy. Kids make noise because they think what they have to say is more important than what the teacher has to say. And they just don't feel like listening to her because she's boring or they're failing in the class and they're mad, and they just don't pay any attention.

A teacher should be able to stimulate interest in his students. It's fine to say that people should come to class interested. They'll get more out of it if they come interested, but if you have a system where you have to take certain courses, a lot of people are going to come to those courses without any interest and a teacher who teaches a course such as English, should be able to stimulate those students who aren't interested. It's hard. It's one of the most difficult jobs in the world.

Clifton

Clifton is a black student in a predominantly white school in a large southwestern city. He is a senior and wants to go into journalism.

Teachers should update their methods of teaching. That was one of the problems I had with one of my teachers; she had such antique methods. She used force rather than bringing the student out on his own, therefore, you never really learned anything. Most of the kids cheated because they were forced to learn.

A good teacher must have an objective attitude toward the students. Unfortunately, they are human. Many teachers, the minute you walk in grab an impression, and it sticks with you for the rest of the year. I can count the nonprejudiced teachers on my fingers. Many took the attitude, "Poor little Negro boy! I've got to help him; it's my obligation to help the poor little Negro boy." This angered me, and I had nothing to do with teachers like that. I tried not to get any teachers that I knew were like that.

A number were quite violent toward Negroes. One of them bumped into a Negro one day and practically knocked him down the hall. I had a very prejudiced history teacher, but for some reason I just couldn't see that she was prejudiced. I thought she was the average white person. One day I told her something about Martin Luther King and she called him a Communist. I was very infuriated and told her that if he was a Communist then I was too, and I was damned proud of it. I got called into the office for claiming that I was a Communist.

I was in ROTC and I think that was the biggest farce I've ever run into. They gave all the authority to the guys running the corps and it was so crooked. I was busted twice before I got my first stripe. The first time I was busted, they had me on cleaning detail. I was disgusted with it because I was in third period, and three other guys come before me and clean the same place, yet they assigned me to clean that place. This was the same for everybody, but I was disgusted because I didn't see any need for it. I overheard the officers telling darky jokes, and I went in and told them what I thought about their darky jokes. I was busted for talking out of proper language.

One day I left a notebook in a room and two or three teachers were using the same room. I went back to get my notebook and the teacher said, "Excuse me, what is your name?" I told her. "Are you a nigger? I was wondering because I saw you eating with some niggers, and I was just wondering were you a nigger." I said, "Oh, no, ma'am, I'm a Negro." She took that to the administration, and the administration called my history teacher, with whom I had become very close, to explain to me that I can't act belligerent. That was all right for my two-cent Negro school, but it wasn't all right for their school!

In the mornings the black population of the school congregates in one section and, strangely enough, this is the only time that we segregate. We don't actually segregate; we just like to be with our friends one time during the day. This was the only time we could actually get together and have a lot of fun.

The white kids had things like chess games and checkers that they liked to play, but a couple of the Negro guys got together and wanted to play dominoes. The teacher came over

219

10370

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220

and took one look and said, "Why don't you play something like chess?" The students wondered, "Well, what's wrong with dominoes?" The teacher told them, "I just don't like the connotation of Negroes playing dominoes." The following week the guys got a little rowdy over the game and the teacher told them, "Get away, get away. Clear the aisles, clear the aisles. I don't ever want to see you on this side of the cafeteria again." And as she'd move some of the kids away, the guys she'd move said, "What're you going to do? Send us back to Africa?" She didn't bother us any more because she was afraid of an incident.

John

John is a black student in his senior year at an all-black school. The school is located in a medium-sized city in the northeastern part of the country. John is in the honors program.

My first year at school, I ran into some difficulty with a few teachers because I challenged their thoughts and they didn't like some of my opinions. One teacher in particular, who taught me English, was more interested in performing duties on the yearbook staff than in teaching her students.

We were in the honor section and she thought that we should just learn on our own and that we really shouldn't need a teacher with us, so she would tell us to do something and then leave the classroom and stay out the whole period. This would go on for 2 and 3 weeks. She'd just come in and say, "Read this and we'll talk about it later." That later might be 3 or 4 weeks later. When I approached her about this and told her that we weren't learning anything in the class, she didn't say anything to me about it, but my grades suffered severely.

The same teacher spent 3 months going over one book called *Ivanhoe*. It only took us about a week to read the book, but we spent the rest of the year discussing what went on in the story. It wasn't necessary, but she wouldn't accept the fact that most of the students could read and understand what was going on. If you didn't agree with her ideas, she didn't like you. She didn't want a student to voice his own opinion, and when I voiced my opinions about what was going on in *Ivanhoe*, she didn't go along with them, and wouldn't accept them, and wouldn't let anybody else accept them.

You are told that you are wrong but she doesn't explain why you are wrong. You can't approach her and talk about anything after school because she is never there. The only thing she came to school for was the yearbook work. The reason why I say that is that this year they took the yearbook assignment from her and she resigned.

It is strange that the teachers that usually stay after school are the white teachers; the black teachers are the first to go home. The black teachers don't give a damn about the students. They like any student who does everything they tell him to do and accepts everything they say. If you wear a white shirt and tie to school every day, they love you. The black teachers tell me that I should not wear dungarees in school—"What would the neighborhood think if they saw a whole bunch of people running around the school with dungarees on." This doesn't have anything to do with teaching; it's just a status symbol. This is the thing about our school—they are so status conscious.

There was a program called "The Advanced Humanities Seminar." Every teacher that stayed after school for this program was white. There were maybe 30-35 students in the classroom and 10 teachers, and I could never find a black teacher in one of them. This alarmed me a lot because I think that black teachers have some points that they should bring up, but you find that the black teachers don't like to talk about the racial problem in front of the white teachers for fear that the white teachers might not associate with them afterwards because of what they say. They want to be liked by all the white teachers in the school; they want to be accepted by the white people. If you can get more participation from black teachers in after-school activities and get more discussion groups going inside of the school, then you can probably get something done, but usually you can't find the black teachers to participate.

I take English right now, from a young black teacher. In class she talks very militant, but she's never around after school. I think that if she talked with more of the students, a lot of students would start thinking for themselves instead of accepting what everyone says.

I find that when a student doesn't question a teacher or when

10371

a student doesn't criticize or challenge something that a teacher says, they're just pulling in everything and keeping it in their minds. But the only way that you can really make up your own mind about things is to question the teachers' viewpoints, what you think, what you read, and what you hear from other people.

I am taking a course in black history, and we have a teacher who is white and has written a book on the black man in America. His attitudes are different from ours; we don't think the same way. He seems to be naive and I don't think he should be teaching Negro history to us. I don't feel that white teachers should teach a black child any of the social studies—no history, no government, nothing of that nature—because the white person is going to have his different prejudices, and the black child is supposed to be thinking a different way because he is the person who has been subjugated all these years. I think that white people might be good in teaching things like math and science where you just have to know facts, but not anything that will influence the way you are going to think later on.

About 15 to 18 of the 37 teachers at our school live inside the black community. The others live in the suburbs or in the white areas of the city. It is funny that all of the white teachers who claim they sympathize with black problems and try to be liberal do not live in the black communities. You have about three-fifths of the teachers who don't give a damn about anything that happens in the school. They just come in there to get their pay checks, and you find out that these teachers usually don't teach you anything, either. These are the teachers with the attitudes of "I have mine; you have to get yours." They give you what is required. That's all and that isn't too much.

Pat

Pat is a black student who attends a predominantly white school in a medium-sized city in the Southwest. She is a senior and plans to attend college to prepare herself for a career in social work.

Well, we all hate to say it, but it is a fact that Negro schools are inferior. It is the fault of the white power structure, but it is a fact. Separate but equal—that was the joke of the century. Maybe it sounded bad of me to say it, but it is true. And if the black teachers can't realize their schools are inferior, they have no desire to do anything about making them any better. In our city they take the top Negro teachers and put them in white schools. They take the scum from the white schools and put them in the black schools. This doesn't solve anything. The black students need the very best teachers.

I had some of the best teachers at the predominantly black school that I attended; they do have good teachers. By the same token, there are many teachers who are teaching because this is something one can always do. This is bad, because I hear so many people say, "Well, you can always teach," you know, as if they aren't really preparing themselves for this and putting their whole heart into it. This is a last resort; if you can't do anything else, you can teach.

There is this social thing in the black school. You know, everybody is conscious of their clothes, and the teachers are in the halls talking about their parties. It just warped everybody—everybody in the whole school, because the values were wrong. Some teachers placed a great deal of emphasis on learning for the sake of learning—because you really want to learn, not because there is a grade. This is an important part of it, but very few teachers emphasized the satisfaction that you get from learning.

Comparatively, the teachers in the integrated school are much better prepared. Three-fourths of them have their master's degrees and are working on their Ph.D.'s. One English teacher has her Ph.D.—in a high school! These teachers just know how to teach students, how to say "I do not know," and how to make you think. They aren't bogged down with a lot of other stuff that doesn't really matter. The important thing, because it doesn't mean anything to sit there and memorize facts out of the book—but you should know how to relate ideas and associate them, and they really know how to do this.

History is the only class that I really enjoy or tolerate, because of the teacher. It is not that I don't enjoy my other classes, but history was like something I lived. I left class and it never stopped being alive to me, you know. I went out in a picket line and there was history. I came home and thought and this was history. This was my class. You know, everything I

10372

did was my history class, because of the way she taught it. There were nine students in the class; one Negro, two Jews, and one Unitarian—you know, a wide variety of people. And we would talk about things the way they should be talked about. I mean nobody evaded issues. A few students did, but the teacher didn't. I really think that she is a free woman, because she doesn't feel like she has to answer to anybody. I mean she knows what she believes. She knows herself; what her convictions are and her limitations and she accepts them. She sat up in class one day and said something about a "nigger". I wasn't offended, because I admire her for saying it and not running around apologizing to me and saying "No offense," and all that, you see.

And we talked about black people and what the history books fail to say, and how zero the books are that the standard classes use. She talks about Jews, too, depending on what the situation is. She says whatever the facts are. I can admire this about her, because my other teachers flinch when they have to say "Negro", or if anything of a racial nature comes up they just skip it. You don't solve problems by skipping, you know. I am not saying teachers should sit up and just out of the blue say, "All right, let's have a civil rights discussion," but whenever anything comes up I don't see any reason not to talk about it. And they give you the excuse that the parents don't like it, you know. And I just tell them, "If the parents don't like it, they can take their children out. I mean, if that is the case, my mama doesn't like the fact that you won't talk about it. But you don't care about my mama; all you are concerned with is the white children's mothers." And this, to me, just shows the failure to reach everybody.

The other teachers are very good as far as good teachers go, but they have a hang-up. They aren't ready for us, black students, and are having problems getting adjusted, just as we are. I get very angry with them, because I always felt that adults were infallible; I looked up to them and worshipped adults, and now I am finding out that isn't the way it is. It is hard to accept this, and I feel like, "Well, there is nothing wrong with me. Why can't you accept me for what I am?" But they don't do this.

My reading teacher was also my English teacher. Her views are not with the times. And I have to understand that she is from a different age. Although I wish she could see my point of view, I don't really expect her to, you know. She talked to me over an hour about how Mark Twain loves Negroes. I thought, "Thank you, are you going to tell some of your white students about it?"

In my reading class this girl was discussing some striking workers and she said, "I don't understand it, these men are making more than the minimum wage and I just really don't think they deserve any more." This is the one time my English teacher discussed anything like this in class, but she said the wrong thing—that she didn't think people who have undeveloped minds need money. She said, "You spend all your life maybe preparing to be a doctor or something, and then you deserve the money you make." But I pointed out that if you are making $2 an hour, if you can't feed your family and clothe them and have the bare necessities, it is still not the way it should be. I don't like the fact that I am studying hard and have to help feed some of my classmates who wasted their time, but this is something that exists that we have to accept, and there is always this thing about "love thy brother," whether he is black or white. They tell me that the strikers are making more than the minimum wage—well, who said the minimum wage was enough?

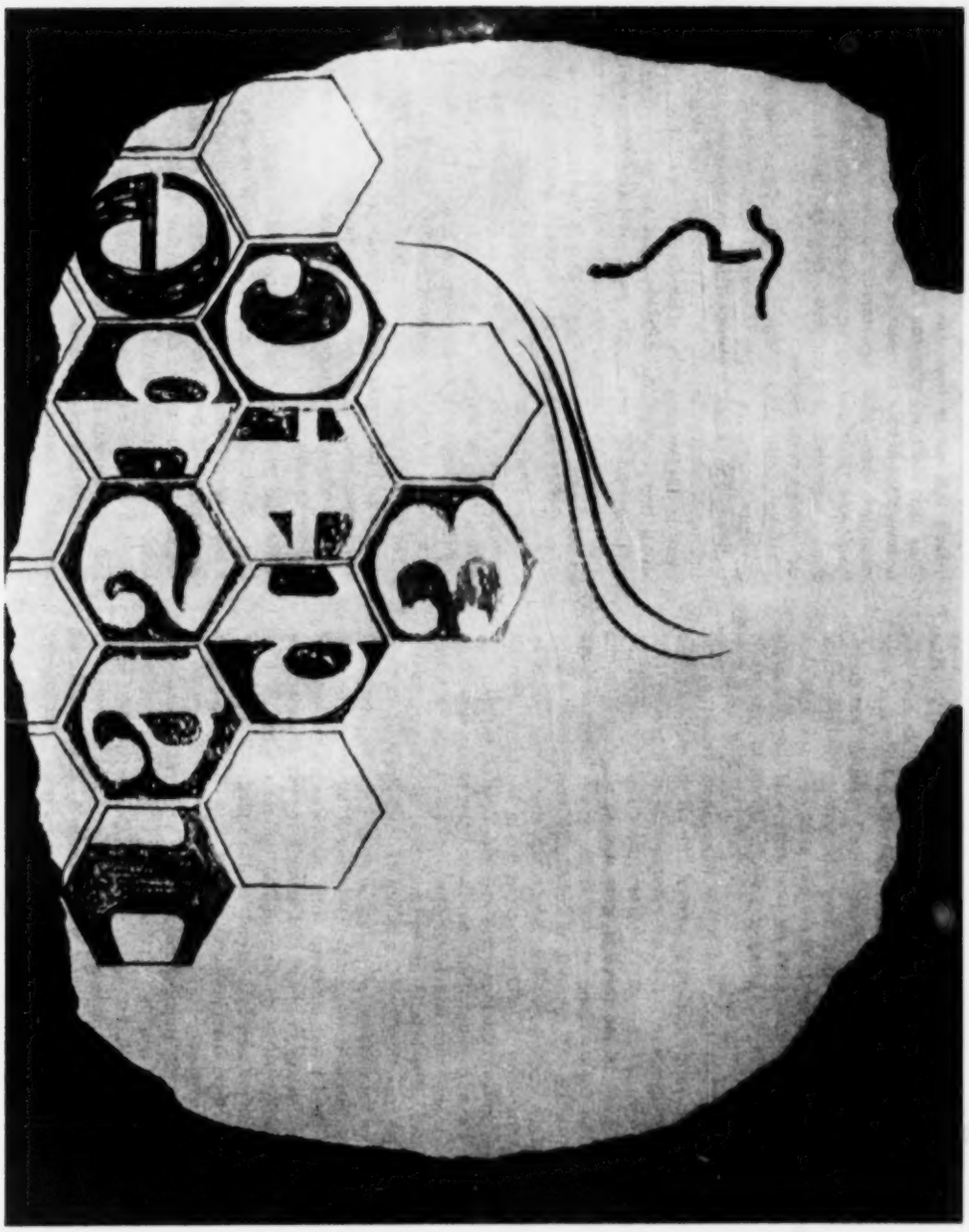
Having well-rounded teachers who have really had training in how to deal with students is more important than knowledge—more important than two-times-two-is-four. It is important to get teachers who can make the student realize what he has to do to fit into society and find his place, whether it be as a sanitation worker or as a lawyer.

10373

10374

Curriculum

10375



Bernadine

Bernadine, a senior, is a black student at a school in a large northeastern city. The racial composition of the school is about 65 percent black and 35 percent white. She takes academic courses and plans to major in philosophy in college next year.

The schools are just racist. Every time I mention that everyone has a fit because they think they are getting the *best* education possible—they aren't! There are a lot of black kids that are coming up now who can't read or write, and they are going to be the ones who are going to feel the thrust of this whole racist system.

Now that I look back, the funny thing about tracking, was when we left kindergarten, it seemed like all the students who lived on my block were put in one class and all the kids who lived in homes were put in another. After junior high school all the kids who lived in the projects were almost all placed in one school. The track system seemed to be based solely on your economic status. All the kids in the middle-income were placed in one track and all the kids who were poor were placed in another. Somehow or other they put me in the track with all the kids who had middle-incomes and who lived in homes.

When I got in junior high school, they put me in something like "track one" and said I was "honors" and I said that was nice and all. The kids in my neighborhood didn't particularly like me because they said I was uppity, and the kids in class didn't like me because they said I wasn't uppity because I wasn't like them. It was kind of a trying thing for me because it seemed as if I was alienated from the kids on my block and even from the kids in school. I'd never bring my friends home because the block was so dirty and at the same time, the kids I'd grown up with on 54th Street wouldn't play with me. They said that I used too big words and so I got to have a deep inferiority complex.

I know that the guidance department is a great failure—the department isn't saying anything except that you ought to take advanced math, but, other than that, the department isn't giving the type of guidance which is going to be beneficial to students. And there's always this thing about, "Take industrial arts, take business courses, because you're not fit for college preparatory,"—that's insane! We're always told, "College preparatory's not for you," and many believe it, see, because there's this image that whatever the "Man" says is correct. They just can't see that the "Man" really is not interested so he hasn't taken time to really be correct. Many of those students who have been fooled into taking business courses are getting "A's" and "B's" and then at graduation they decide that, "Oh, man, I wanted to be a chemistry teacher," but they haven't had any college prep courses.

In the ghetto schools especially, oftentimes you have white guidance counselors trying to counsel black children. I wouldn't trust a white counselor though I've been depressed about things and really wanted to talk with somebody. The counselors here treat us like we are, "Oh, you poor Negroes." And, "Here we are, letting you come to our school. We are really going to work with you and try our best to mold you into what we think you ought to be. And then, if you are nice little Negroes, we might let you be part of our society." This is the way they feel. And doggone it, if I had a problem, I would go and talk to a tree first!

I remember when I first got to high school, I was put in an honors track. I really didn't want to go because I knew I would have a time. When you're in "honors" in a Negro school it's completely different from being in honors in a white school. In a Negro school, we couldn't possibly expect the teacher to teach with the same capacity as a white teacher. For one thing, she got so little funds and hardly any new equipment. All the money was poured into new white schools, so she couldn't teach the way she was supposed to. I'm pretty sure that made the teacher frustrated.

We had this book, *Adventures in American Literature*, and they had one Negro poet in there, James Weldon Johnson. I did a term paper on him and compared him to Paul Lawrence Dunbar who wrote that beautiful dialect poetry. I really like it, and I remarked at the end of the paper that I liked Paul Lawrence Dunbar better than I did James Weldon Johnson, because James Weldon Johnson had this idea that any time a Negro said "dis and dat," he was illiterate. Now Paul Lawrence Dunbar knew that that's the way Negroes speak, and that we still say "dis and dat." I happened to mention this in honors English class,

10376

which is 90 percent white and they had a fit. Then, we talked about how James Weldon Johnson showed that the Negro was being assimilated, but he isn't—he isn't even in the mainstream of American society today!

We were also doing a bit of philosophy in there, reading *Lord of the Flies*. Up to then I had had no philosophy, no method of reasoning. I wasn't trained to take one sentence and get a logical conclusion from that first sentence. I had nothing like that because in my black junior high school, we simply looked in the book and got the answers. We never actually had to think; the answers were right there for you. It was like, "What word would you put in this sentence? Go back to the story and find the correct word." It was never, "What word would you place in the sentence? Think of a word that would connote the meaning."

We had a discussion in student council recently about whether we should inculcate black history with white history. I told them it was highly unfeasible because I have a notion that whoever does teach Negro history will be white. A lot of those white teachers have the missionary zeal where going to ghetto schools and upbringing little black kids becomes their mission for life. And this is the way they've been all through history. Secondly, you would still have people who are prejudiced, and who would perhaps mention one or two Negroes but then just go right on. In order to get the full benefit of black history, you have to teach it as a separate course.

The humanities teacher asked us what we would like to see in such a course and I said, "Well, when you get to the part of the slavery days in the United States, don't skip over it and make some nicey-nice statement like 'It was terrible. It was the most inhumane act against any man that man has inflicted!' Just don't say anything like that. We all know that it was inhumane. Just tell us the facts and don't pass over the Negro as if he were a chair or something. Talk about his problems. The teacher tried, but he didn't succeed. We had this series of books and one was a history of the 1920's. It talked about America's morals and the end of World War I, but it had nothing in there about the Negro renaissance of the 1920's, or the Negro migration from the Southern rural areas to the Northern urban ones. It had nothing about that. I just can't read books like that, which are so racist. I just won't read books like that any more!

I guess the major change I'd like to see in the schools is with the books. Some of them are in awful condition but it's not the condition of the book that bothers me so much, it's what's inside of them. They're going to have to start talk about blacks, and not in a token manner, you know. The teacher's going to have to change all the books he uses. Whenever he finds a bit of tokenism in there, he's going to have to point it out. Like my history book was supposed to be multiracial but it really wasn't. It pointed out what some white man said about Negro Senators: "They were worthy to be in any race," and it sounded as if we were completely different—which we really aren't.

You might take Far Eastern Problems, but you never hear of the history of Africa or the history of Latin America. It's always the history of Europe or the history of Germany or the history of the United States—never about black people. They might throw a little chapter in there about how England went into Africa and westernized the people by taking them out of their savage conditions. The only time it seems anything was ever achieved is when the white man did it—this is what they teach us in school and that's racist!

If we could ever get an accurate history of America before the white man came—perhaps we'd have to go to the Indian reservations and ask them about it, not in a condescending manner, you know, "Okay, now what did your ancestors do?" We're going to have to talk to them like they're people. See, Americans don't talk to each other as if they're people—it's as if you're simply an object or something existing for the good of the country.

I wouldn't put any explorers in the books because Indians were traveling up and down the St. Lawrence River before Jacques Cartier came. I'm sure they were, so don't even put the explorers in there. I'd start from 1619, the first time the blacks came over, and take the history from there. I actually believe that the history of the black man in America is the history of America itself, for if it weren't for the toil and sweat of the

226

10377

black people, America just wouldn't be. I'd change the whole history course.

The whole class took a trip to Vermont once, to an all-white school. Two Negroes and one white student happened to walk into this all-white class. It was comparable to our basic track and the kids were talking about slavery, everyone started giggling, like, "Here comes some Negroes and we're talking about slavery."

The teacher had "The Advantages of Slavery" on the board because the day before he had talked about the disadvantages of it. This girl asked us if we thought Negroes would do whites like whites did them? I told her, "We don't want to do you all like you did us—that's completely dehumanizing. Not only did they dehumanize us, but they dehumanized themselves when they enslaved us. All we want now is self-determination." The teacher was trying to get them to recognize the "Negro problems." I don't like that word, "Negro problems"—it's not our problem! The white man created it and he's going to have to solve it. But I was thinking: is that happening all over the country, you know, in classes? Are white kids thinking that if we ever got free, we're going to do them like they did us? We aren't really out to do evil for evil.

You know, it's a requirement to take a government course to get out of high school. It was a great big farce! For example, here I was learning about democracy, but how can you learn about democracy if there is no democracy? How can you teach something which isn't? Sure, you can read the Declaration of Independence, but realize that Thomas Jefferson had slaves when he wrote it. You've just got to know those little picayune points which people think don't matter. Don't talk about some freedom and democracy, knowing I don't have it. I'm all for democracy if we're going to be a democracy.

Clarence

Clarence is a black student who attends a predominantly white school in a medium-sized southern city. He is a senior and is enrolled in an academic course. He plans to attend college and major in science.

School's all right, I guess. See, I don't like it that much anyway. I can't explain that. I don't know. You just, after a while, get tired of it. Education in high school is just the beginning to show you what life is going to be. Math, English, and medieval history are best for that. I think you need just about everything they teach you—you will need them in the long run.

They have Plan I and Plan II. Plan I is for college and you got to take algebra, history, and all that. Plan II is you can take 2 years of science, general math, and all. I am in Plan II. I didn't want to be taking all those hard courses and then wouldn't go to college. I think I need them, but I just didn't want to take them right now. I've had all the science I need. I'll be taking math next year, and the only reason I'll be taking that is because I lost a half this semester and a half last semester. I don't think you need them all in business college. Really, to tell you the truth, I don't see any sense in staying 4 years in college and taking all those other subjects you don't need. In business college, you just take that one subject.

I have a C plus average. I really don't see much importance in grades. When you learn—like you have an A plus average, you're going to forget it right after the summer. It will just be new to you the next year. I really don't see what the grades are doing anyway. If you know it, you are going to learn it. For most, they are just going to memorize it for that time just to pass the test. That's about what everybody does.

A system without grades would be all right but I think they would have to be more strict than they are now because if most of the people know they could pass without doing anything at all, they wouldn't do any work. If a student was interested in something he would study.

I like to read American history books. I read one book by a black author but I can't think of the name of it right now. Come to think of it we don't ever talk about Negro history at school. Not much at all, nothing but the Civil War—that's about all the history we talk about. In American history, we talked about things that were going on in the world. But about Negroes and whites, we talked about this just all the time. Every time we get a chance we would talk about current events. It was like a course. They would ask you your opinion on the subject, they have the questions on the paper, then we would have a discussion

10378

on it.

They have training over at the high school now. They get you a job like salesmanship, outdoors work, plumbing, and all of that. You can work during school. You get out around 12 or 2 and you get credit for it. Then after the end of every year, you can put an ad in the paper finding these jobs. Two of my cousins and two other guys applied for jobs through the school but the jobs they got, they didn't like them. Most of it was housework, you know, or something like that. I think they tried them out, but they didn't like them, so, they just quit.

Work really doesn't matter as long as it pays good. Like that data processing—that's real good money. I'd like to do it but if I would find an outdoors job, I would do it before I would the IBM because I like to use my hands. The students who is taking the data processing course have to go to a special school to use that machine. I can't stand an inside job hardly though I know there is where the best opportunities are. With electronics or something like that, I know I have to go on indoors, but as long as I have any kind of choice, I will take outdoors any time.

I keep my problems pretty much to myself. I think I could have gone to the counselors, people go to them easily. I've seen my counselor several times to get my schedule for next year, but the counselors couldn't do anything about your problems because you couldn't change classes just like that. It was no use going to them because they would have so many students over there, you had to take whatever they had already given you.

Randolph

Randolph, a black student, is a senior at an all-black school in a large midwestern city. The school is vocationally-oriented and has been closely associated with an industrial firm where Randolph plans to work after graduation.

This year—actually I could have graduated last June, but I had another season of eligibility to play football so I came back and played football. I was through with my English, math, and history. This semester I took something just to keep me in school: I took business law, business arithmetic, sociology, and physics.

My sociology class is very interesting. Some of the kids don't think it is too interesting because the teacher is pretty old, but I feel she does her work, and the students have to do their jobs. At the present time and at the beginning of the sociology class we were not doing too much about the conflict between the black and white people. We just talked about the world, you know; culture, behavior patterns, where you find different people in different situations and attitudes of society in general.

I like history and I think it is an interesting course. When I was a freshman and a sophomore my history courses didn't have too much about the Negro, about his accomplishments, and all the things that he had done in the past. He just seemed to fly over us, you know, and I didn't pay much attention. But now that I have had Negro history, things have begun to come to life and I can look back and see how we were kept down. I would say every school, not only in the city—but in the State and country—should have a class on Negro history. It is very interesting not only to the colored people but it would give white people a chance to actually see the beginning of the trouble, the causes of the problem, and by knowing the causes, people would take a different view of the situation. I think it also would be a better way to solve the problems. A few years back before this walkout they didn't have a Negro history class, but after the walkout it started.

Negro history was such a large class and the course covered so much that we didn't actually have the chance to get up to the present time, but we did discuss the riots of last summer. We talked about the causes of the rioting and looked back through history at the tension as it built up. And these things were building up and building up. Also, we talked about low paying jobs and the family situation. A lot of parents get so frustrated because they see no way out and they break up and then the kids are left all confused. Then when something breaks like the riot, the kids feel like, "Here is my chance to get something, to get out and let loose," and everything explodes. It's just a vicious circle and it is hard to get out of this circle, you know.

We needed something to inspire students to do more than just hang around. We had programs and stuff, but it just

228

10379

seemed like it didn't get to the students for one reason or another. They would go to another school and see the modern buildings and things that those kids had—just the physical features. While here, the school is old; the place was tearing down; the tenth floor was the worst gym in the city. It all kind of made the students feel, "What the heck"; you know. Since the walkout we had, it has gradually been getting better and better; they've been trying to modernize. They put in a new gym floor, fiberglass backboards for basketball, new desks, and they're giving out free textbooks. When I came, we had to buy them; it cost about $25 for school supplies. Now they pass them out and you give them back at the end of the semester.

The counselor that I have been assigned to is white. He's been great to me. He has been interested in the students—not just the high academic ones, but also those who have problems. And he really cares, you know, and he'll do everything in his power to help you, even if you don't show no interest. He's white, but I like him. He's one of the best counselors here. Although they want high school graduates to go right into work, I think they should put more emphasis on going on with a higher education. Generally, that is about my only complaint.

Getting a job is good; you get a lot of prestige working in an office rather than working in a factory and places like that, that don't have prestige; but still, by going to college and coming out with a degree you can still go back to the office and be in a better position than you would be after graduation from high school.

I believe that there are quite a few students who just went to work because they had the opportunity to get a job right now, a good job, with a lot of prestige and which paid well. But they had the ability to go to college. That is why I say they ought to emphasize college a little more than just coming out of high school and going to work.

Rosa

Rosa is Mexican American. She is a senior in a suburban school near a medium-sized west coast city. About 50 percent of the students are Anglo. Mexican Americans and blacks comprise the remaining school population. Rosa has been taking business courses but wants to go to college next year to study elementary education.

This year I have been taking business, government, English, Spanish, music, and p.e. but these courses are not preparing me for what I want to do. That's what I hold against my counselors when I first started, I got them blindfolded. See, I was going to start as college prep, but everybody was telling me how hard it was and they discouraged me, so I'm taking office and business courses. I regret it now as I will have to take them in college. I could really pass those college prep classes just as well as anybody can. I'm not conceited, that's just the way I feel, and that's the only way to be. I remember when I was going into the ninth grade, they told me not to take English 1A—that's high English, but to take English 1B. And I was pretty good, because I was getting real good grades in grammar school. In fact, I got an honor trophy. So then I told them, "Why couldn't I take English 1A?" They said that was for the very high students. So, I said said, "O.K., I will take English 1B." I took it and within 2 weeks I was changed to English 1A. I showed them.

My guidance counselors have been lousy. They wouldn't tell me anything—that's what makes me so angry. If I were a counselor and some child was getting bad grades, I would try to show him other courses that would maybe interest him and that later on, in the future, he would be able to become something, you know. Not get into a college prep course and do lousy—that's ridiculous—you're wasting your whole 4 years there. Like me—I wasted my whole 4 years trying to be a secretary, and here I want to become a teacher now. When I wanted to find out about colleges I had to look up everything for myself. Sometimes I would have trouble filling out some blanks; I couldn't understand some things. I figured that if I would have learned about all those scholarships, I could have applied for them. My counselor kept telling me I didn't know anything. I think he was doing it for my own good, but still, he could have looked into the matter a little more, and tried to help instead of discouraging me, because for a while, I wasn't even thinking of going to college any more!

A lot of the guidance counselors don't like us period. They

229

10380

feel that since we are Mexican Americans, they don't want to help. Students figure that counselors think they're dumb and ignorant, and wouldn't get anywhere anyway. They said that they were going to get us a Spanish counselor and a colored counselor. That I want to see! At my junior high they have a colored counselor for the colored kids and this counselor is a very good counselor. He's—well, I think he is good because he comes from the same background as most of these kids, and even though he is a middle class citizen now, he was poor before and he knows what has been going on and understands those problems.

I really don't think that grades are that important. I think that what you get out of the class is more important than grades. All the time when I am taking a test that I am timed at, I cannot do good. I have never been able to do that because I have to hurry, and I do lousy on it. In Spanish he gives us a whole period, I time myself so I am not under pressure. I do very well then.

I don't think I go and choose my friends because they are smart or for their good looks but, at school, if you want to get anywhere you have to get good grades. If you are going to be popular, you have to have good looks or have real good grades or be a teacher's pet. In our school, the only Mexican Americans who care are the ones getting high grades. All the rest don't really care that much. They have an inferiority complex; they figure they can't do something, so they just forget about it, you know. I don't think that is right at all. There are some kids who probably have bad study habits, but it is probably not even their fault that they have these habits and just because of their background, a lot of kids don't even hang around with them.

Our government teacher tells us about minority groups in his class. In our California history section he was telling us about Murieta and all the bandits. That's what I like! When he was talking about Murieta, he says that a lot of people think that those stories are just a bunch of hearsay but he says that some so-called "Mexican bandits" were good leaders, Mexican American leaders. Any other teacher would have said, "vandalism" or "they are no good, they shoot and kill people." He would always tell us that they weren't all bad. I think that pointing these things out is part of learning about American society. Otherwise it's all Anglo people who talk about foreigners —French and English, and once in a while they throw in a Mexican, but very rarely. I always ask questions about the bandits. I thought that was the most interesting part of the whole course.

I don't like government very much. I don't like to know about the past, I like to know something about what we are going to do in the future. We don't learn anything about American life, society, or politics today. There is one teacher in business class that would always bring up racial disturbances and things like that and he told us one time not to speak so loud because he might get reprimanded. That really surprised us. We were talking about the Bible and how slaves got treated and it was all legal. He told us he could get in trouble for that discussion, too.

I work with four colored kids, and they talk about school and how unfair it is, and how they would like to have some Negro history. They can't read their novels or have a class in Negro literature. I always agree with them because I think it is only fair that they have their literature, too. In fact, I would probably enjoy the class. I would like it because I don't know much about Negro history.

In English class we were going to read a book suggested by a colored boy. He is always interested in reading books. The teacher tried, but, just because the book cost five cents more, the administration wouldn't let her get it. I think that is ridiculous!

Pablo

Pablo is a Mexican American student in his junior year at an all-Mexican American school in a large city in the Southwest. He wants to become a teacher.

When I started junior high they tried to advance us, but only a certain amount of the students got a chance to be pushed a little bit. When I was in the ninth grade there was one class taking Algebra I and there was a class taking world history and these were considered sophomore courses. Then we go back to the Mexican American school and find out that you don't have trig. We fought for trig and they are going to have

230

10381

it next year. We also demanded that Algebra I and world history be taught at our school in the ninth grade. Why should we have to fight? We got a smell of a better education, so why can't we have it here at this school? That only proves how the teachers and the administration are behind. They don't think that the Mexican American has the ability to take courses like that. We don't have the ability because when we started elementary they don't try to advance us.

In our school they have two classes in chemistry. One, like the class I was in, had 18 people in it. If we could get trig, we will have a terrific chance at having harder courses. You take Algebra I in the ninth grade, in the tenth grade you take geometry, in the eleventh grade you take Algebra II, and in the twelfth grade you take trig. It is a great idea. You can take math courses, because nowadays math is very important. Students before us had tried to get enough students who were ready to take trig, but nobody is prepared for it. The education is behind. You go to some Northside school and, wow, you have two or three classes in trig because they are prepared.

With English, it's the same thing, kind of retarded. In elementary school they say don't speak Spanish because it's bad. They say that there is a law against speaking Spanish. Well, we looked it up and it only stated that all classes should be conducted in English. There is also a treaty that says that Spanish can be used. You start off bad when they tell you, "No, only English." I'm sure that everybody wants to learn it, but when they tell you that you have to learn it, it makes it difficult. They try to force you to learn English, but if you want to learn, you will learn.

What do you get from English? In literature class, I didn't get anything. I joked around in the back, and this and that. It is a big bore. You can't make a person do something by force. You can, but he is not going to try his best. I started reading this summer when I wasn't working. I read the Communist Manifesto. Why should I read a lot of fiction? They give you a list of fiction books that students should be reading, but why read a lot of fiction books? Why can't you read and find out the real truth? I didn't finish it.

The Spanish course was good, but they really ought to teach you how to speak correctly but they always say, "Learn the conjugation." They ought to let you speak it correctly, they ought to let you talk among yourselves.

You get some courses in junior high like world history, and you are learning it here in American history. It is the same thing over and over. They don't try to get it up to date. When you are studying in the Mexican Revolution, they say, "The Mexican is bad, bad, bad. The United States comes and helps Texas," and this and that. They aren't trying to put in the things that are really happening now. You get a book, and the last thing you might get in the book was Kennedy's assassination. That's I don't know how many years back. Things are changing so fast that those books are beginning to be prehistoric.

Tom

Tom is a white student in a large city in the northwestern part of the country. The school has only a few blacks and Oriental students. Tom is in the academic track. He is a junior and expects to continue his education at a military academy.

The counselors really don't do anything for you. You go down to the counseling office and they give you a book—they don't really talk to you. You get in, 5 minutes later you get out, and somebody else is waiting. It's so impersonal. There are a lot of kids—2,100—and something like six counselors; that's about 300 kids to a counselor and, brother, you just don't see them unless you're in trouble. If you get in trouble a lot, you see the counselor a lot.

It's the middle class kids who are most disgruntled, not the rich or the poor. Rich kids don't need counseling as much—if they want help, they can go to a psychiatrist. The emphasis here has been on the poor kids. We have vocational programs and other things for them, but for the lower class and the middle class, nothing is done for them in the way of college counseling. Like they're the forgotten class, and most kids in my school are going to college. It's kind of an accepted thing here that this is a college preparatory school. There have been a lot of complaints about the fact that it is a pressure school and geared to the C+ student with a 2.5 average or better. In a school with such wide ranges of abilities and interests, honors courses are

231

10382

a good thing because there are kids who are interested and regular kids who think that the subject is dead because of the kind of teachers they have had. A lot of teachers treat honors class just as a regular class but you have to work harder and there's that pressure to get an "A". It's always kids competing because you have all the kids who can do it together. Competing could be a good way to learn. If you were an "A" student in the regular class, you would get a "B" in honors. It should be all "A's", "B's" and maybe a few "C's". If the kid's not getting it, kick him out; put him in a regular class.

We have one Negro and one Oriental in our honors program. I don't know if the other minority students are all in vocational programs, but there are not too many in the honors classes. It's mostly white kids in this program. I don't know why, but it might be because of backgrounds. Most of the kids in the honors classes are the ones who get places at the university and intellectual discussion is done at home. I took psychology this year and we talked a lot about educational systems. We finally came to the conclusion that honors classes should be abolished as the best way to help those who haven't had that kind of cultural background. When you put them with a lot of kids who are smart, it brings them up. You might say it rubs off. They work harder, but then you find that the smart kids don't work quite as hard, and it also sometimes stifles discussion.

Blacks should have just as good an educational system as whites. If blacks aren't learning as fast as whites, it's not because they're black. In psychology, we studied that black intelligence is just as good as white, even though the black intelligence scores on Army tests rate them as morons. You'll find that it's not because they're black, it's because they live in slum areas. Whites who live in slum areas have just as low an intelligence. You take the blacks and whites out of the slums, put them in the Army and you'll find their scores are tight up there.

Instead of the usual six periods a day like most schools, we're trying a new experimental thing. We have seven classes, but only five a day and an extra period called "E" period which is supposed to be "Enrichment"—to get help from your teachers if you need it, time for a little extra study, or time to make up work if you're behind. I like it because it puts a little more variety into school. You're not always having history first period every day, and you're not always dragging through a foreign language the last period.

I don't feel we have to be always having teachers supervising. I know I've learned a lot of stuff when I was supposed to be studying. It's kind of hackneyed, but I learned things about drugs, politics, and about things going on in the world with this rotating schedule. Like we talk more about other things than history, though the teacher doesn't really have time to cover all the materials required by the teaching manual.

On the other hand, having gone through both schedules, it feels that you might learn a little less with this one. You take more classes but you get less depth in each one, and each teacher has to cut down the things he teaches. I imagine it made a lot of teachers cut out the deadwood in their courses, but you also lose the small things that made it interesting.

We have a course on "Minorities" that they instituted this year. It's an elective that's offered to juniors and seniors, but it should be open to everyone. I signed up, but the class was just too full. Now, I'm having second thoughts about signing up for it again. The new teacher isn't—well, she's white. I don't think that makes as much difference as the fact that she's not the type of teacher for that course. She's the "busy work" kind, "See those questions in the back of the chapter. Write them all out!" If there is anything kids hate, it's something like that! A "Minorities" class has to be taught through issues; it can't be a lecture course or you might as well forget you're having it. They had mostly magazines and there were a few books like *Black Like Me* and *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. Being a contemporary issue sort of thing, they also learned about the minority groups that contributed to the history of the United States. I think it should be incorporated into the regular history courses. The two cultures aren't really separate; they're both American and they should both be in the history books.

Being an honors course, we talked about where Frederick Douglass' and Booker T. Washington's views differed and things. History nowadays mainly covers the great generals or the great

232

10383

leaders in Congress; they leave out the great black philosophers and black inventors though Booker T. Washington always seems to spring up in any history course. We kind of took our history in units. At first, we talked about the Revolutionary Period but we just didn't talk about American Revolution; we talked about the effects of revolution on societies, and how our society compared with the Russian, French, and the Glorious Revolution in England. We never came out and said, "I think this is best," and the teacher acted as a moderator.

The regular history classes didn't go into Reconstruction; while our honors class spent about a month on it. We realized that in history there aren't any cold, hard lines like knowing that Abraham Lincoln and George Washington weren't all pearl white and other people, like Jefferson Davis, who we think of as bad guys, weren't all bad. You had to sift these things out so that you were challenged to learn and it was left up to you to decide. In regular classes, the teacher always feels that kids can't decide for themselves. I really don't see why we learned about Reconstruction and kids who aren't smart enough to be in honors didn't.

One of our electives is psychology which I took because it is an easy "A". It turned out to be a tough class, but I really liked it. We discussed the psychology of education, the psychology of crowds, and how people like Hitler could move the German Nation into war. We also talked about the psychology of races and nationalities, especially last semester when Martin Luther King died. We went into what was happening in the cities and urban problems like overcrowding as a cause of mob violence.

We studied how a personality is built up and it was really very interesting because you could relate it to things around you. The basic problem of so many schools today is that it's so hard to relate school to the things around you. Like imaginary numbers in trig, I don't retain those because it has no relation to what's happening around today. I wouldn't even use trig unless I was going to be an engineer, so I don't bother to learn it too well. I took it because it is required for college and if I want to go to a high scholastic college, then I have to have trig and all this stuff. Math is theorems, formulas, and computations, and so you can't expect a kid to get excited about it.

Lori

Lori, an Anglo, is a junior in a school located in a large city in the Southwest. Her school is approximately 70 percent Anglo and 30 percent Mexican American. Lori is taking business courses and had planned to become a secretary. At the time of the interview, she had just decided to go to college instead.

I am so sick of school. It seems like every year you do the same thing over and over, and the classes and textbooks are so old. This business law course that I had this year used books copyrighted in 1946—they are really old! It was an elective, and I was curious to see what it was like. The course was kind of general. It was mostly about torture and what kind of punishment you have when you commit a certain kind of crime. We also learned all about insurance. It was real basic and boring.

When you say that a class is required, kids say, "Oh, ick! What do you have to take that for? It's boring." If they go into class with that attitude it's bad. But I don't really think that students should be able to take whatever courses they like. I think I should take some classes that are really going to help me, like English, and it wouldn't be a good idea for me to decide about required courses. Some kids might say, "We don't have to take it, so we are just going to sit there and take shop and home economics and stuff just to get through by the skin of our teeth." I think you should be required to take certain classes; that's sort of contradictory, come to think of it, but I think you should. Next year will be good because there is only one required course. I'm taking, "Social Problems." I don't really know what it is about.

I don't think that grades are important to learn. It seems like you can really try and really be interested in what they are talking about, but when it comes to tests and stuff—maybe you are not up to it that day, so you get a bad grade on a test. I don't think it really shows what you know or what you don't know. The grade scales are so dumb; I just don't understand how they grade. For instance, you get so many points on each test and if you get enough, then you get an "A." Well, I think that is sort of dumb. I don't like their grades, but I don't think

233

10384

that the pass or fail system is very good either. Evaluations might be good—I don't really know; we have always had grades.

We had a film on sex education last year that didn't tell us anything we didn't already know. It seems like they are keeping you away from it or something, but if you are curious, you are going to find out anyway, whether they tell you or not. I think they should really have a class on sex and a teacher that is really interested in explaining everything to you. Sure your parents do plenty of it, but in a class you can discuss and find out what people are thinking.

I wouldn't even take American history if it wasn't required for college credit. History is important, like about what happened and everything, but when I got in there I didn't like it because it was really a long time ago and not very interesting. We didn't just use the textbook; we would go to the library every week or every 2 weeks and read different material on what we were studying. I think it was mostly domestic history. We talked about the Depression but didn't read any books about what it was like to live then; we just went by the text and read things like how the labor unions didn't get off to a good start in the twenties and thirties. When we got to World War II, we read different books, and had some choices. We read mostly about Hitler and Mussolini; we read about Roosevelt too—about how he introduced the CCC and WPA for people who didn't have enough money.

We stopped our history in 1944 and learned nothing about modern times or [what happened in] the last 25 years. I don't think we have any courses that go up to the present so I don't feel I know much about what's been happening from 1950 to 1968. It would be better to find out what we are living in today. When you go so far back in history it doesn't really get through to you because you can't experience what those people felt. I do have a sense that riotings and burnings have taken place before and that history is just repeating itself now. I remember when we read about Negroes in the twenties. Everybody was prejudiced against them and they always used to riot and stuff like that. I think other people started those riots, but people just keep on remembering and keep on hating and it just drives Negroes to it again.

During the first semester in American history, when we were talking about the Civil War, my teacher sort of got across that the North wasn't against Negroes being slaves in the South; it was just that they didn't have the same cheap labor.

We don't have any special course on Mexican American or Negro history—it's all in the one history course. The Mexican American kids in our history class say this history is only about white people; that all the textbooks only give one side—the whites'. I think that they are sort of propaganda myself.

In English we read *In Cold Blood, Catcher in the Rye* and *Grapes of Wrath*. We had to read the book and write a paper on it at the end. We didn't read any Baldwin, Ellison, or Richard Wright though we did read *Black Like Me*. I thought that was really interesting. The author went into the Negro area and wanted to really find out what it was like, what prejudice was, and how people treat you. It was really good.

The guidance counselor always calls us in, and discusses what classes we need to take, what classes we have to take, and then what our electives are. He asks you what you want to go into and then tries to encourage you to take classes that would help you in that field. I really haven't decided what I want to be. I don't know, I sort of wanted to be a secretary, then I decided not to, but I am still going to keep up my business classes. My guidance counselor has really helped me. During my sophomore year, I really goofed up in biology. I would always go in to him and he would sort of give me a pep talk, you know. He was really good; I really liked him. I've heard many bad comments from my friends about their guidance counselors—how they only call them in when they have to make up their schedule for the next year and never to see how they are doing. They're always too busy or they are down in the lounge drinking coffee and just don't have time, you know.

Sharon

Sharon is a senior at a school in a large northeastern city whose student body is becoming increasingly black. Sharon is white. She is in regular classes in the commercial program.

I am taking a commercial course. I have stenography, typing, office practice, and English. In all my classes, like my stenog-

234

10385

raphy class, and typing class, there are a lot of black kids. We get along pretty good.

In your senior year, when you graduate, they get you lined up for a job. They have this work program for seniors where you work a week and go to school a week or you can work half a day and go to school half a day. You get credit for working and also get paid. Really, the counselor's no help at all. She just tells you, "What do you want?" and then you tell her what you want, and then they say, "Well, you can't have it!" This friend of mine went down and wanted the trade prep. They told him that he could either have the commercial or the trade prep. He asked for the trade prep and they gave him commercial, so he has typing—not even stenography—a boy doesn't type! He went down to change it and they said it was too late. They just give you what they want to give you.

A guidance counselor should be someone you can talk to and bring in problems. The student counselor helps you get your courses. If you don't like your teacher, they don't help you enough. Everybody says, "Go to your counselor, go to your counselor, don't tell me." You go and you wind up getting something they want to give you. I went last year and haven't gone since. A couple of friends left school because they just don't have any interest and figure they would be better off if they got a job. A lot are just disgusted about school.

This year I have big classes—maybe 30 or 35. I like it because everybody gives their opinion. My history class is the only one that isn't. It's about 17. I don't like it because it's practically all boys and only about six or seven girls. The kids are sort of weird; they're different. They don't talk; they just sit there. You have to bang them in the head to make them say something!

Last year, I had one of the discipline officers for English. He was very strict. You knew he meant business so you just sat there and acted adult. Mostly it was like, Shakespeare, "Romeo and Juliet" and all that poetry. I think English should be required, but like the Shakespeare bit, no. You don't need that to go out and get a job, you don't have to know Shakespeare.

Tests make people study. I know that. First you read a chapter and then have a quiz on it, then you read four chapters and have quizzes on each one, and at the end of the fifth chapter you have a big test on all those little chapters, and you learn it better. It's easier to study for each chapter than to cram it all in your head at once. A lot of kids don't study unless they have a test but if it was something I liked, like queens or that ancient stuff, I'd read the book. The Civil War isn't interesting to me so if we weren't having a test, I wouldn't read the book.

It wouldn't be good not to have grades because you wouldn't know what level you'd be in or anything. Like, they have the "star class"—that's what they call all those that's ahead, you know, advanced. They have harder books, harder words, and all that. They have three star classes and they have regular classes, and if they didn't have grades, it would hold the smarter ones back. And then if you put the ones that really can't do it in a smart class, then they'd just flunk. It's better to have them with their own grade level. I've never wanted to be in a star class because I just want to go with the regular speed.

I'm in a history class that's sort of like history, but it's really not. It's called sociology, and through the year we will get economics, geography, and something else. Right now, we're on sociology, it's about the world and crime, and all that. It's pretty good. I like that, but they should not put that under American history because a lot of kids don't know what it is and don't want to take it. Parts of the book are about the Negroes, you know, what you think about intermarriage; what it does; why shouldn't it be done. In the beginning, it was like heredity—black and brown eyes—and then it went into the different kinds of marriages, like the Chinese marrying a white girl, and what would come out. We have black and white in our class and the teacher always has discussions of what's going up and down, like if you are under 21 and you murder somebody, should you get juvenile court or a regular court. We discuss stuff like that and also about dope, though there's no big deal with the pushers at school. Everybody's too wrapped up in the racial bit to worry about that. I like that class.

William

William is a white student at a predominantly black school in a large midwestern city. He was a junior at the time of his interview and expected to go into the Armed Forces after gradúá-

235

10386

tion. He is in one of the lower academic tracks.

Our school is primarily colored—there's about 80 percent of them and 20 percent of us, but in ROTC class, there's more white people percentagewise. See, if you take ROTC, you get out of gym and also get two and a half more credits than if you would be taking the other. The white kids don't play basketball or nothing because the colored kids take over, so the white join ROTC which is mostly drilling and it learns you how to become a soldier. They teach us about rifles and how to use them. When you get into the Army you become a private first class instead of a buck private. We only wear uniforms on Wednesdays, Fridays, and special days. The ribbons mean that I volunteered for detail service; the blue star means our colonel inspected us. We have a fancy drill book that tells about all kinds of drillings, and then we have the rifle manual which our sergeant calls "the Army prayer book".

It doesn't matter what grade you're in when you start ROTC as long as you are 14 years old. You have got to go for 4 years if you want it to help you in the Army and then you are one rank higher than anybody else. We meet every day for one period. Sometimes they make you come early in the morning before class and make you drill all day too, until maybe 5th or 6th hour. Then, we get excused from other classes, and when we have football games or teachers' meetings, we make sure there is no trouble. We stand in front of the gates and when people try to sneak in, we throw them out. Then once a semester we go out and shoot and have inspections in our uniforms. We get to win ribbons. We learn with M-14's, but when we go out shooting, we use 22's. The M-14's are real without the firing pins; they aren't allowed to bring those to school.

I'm going to transfer to aeromechanics school next year where they teach you to work on planes. You get your high school diploma and a technical diploma and then you can go into the air force, go to college, or become an engineer because you've got two diplomas. I don't think they have ROTC up there—that's one thing I'm sure going to miss. I like ROTC.

I go to my counselor every other day. After school if I don't have nothing to do, I go in and talk to him. He helps the kids. He don't just sit there like some counselors. My friend's counselor says, "Come back another day." Mine wouldn't do that unless he has to go to a meeting. When I got kicked out of world history, he talked to me about it, and went down and got me back into it. And whenever I have a problem or something, like if I get in a fight or something like that, I go up to him and talk to him about it and he will help. He don't make the kids go to the principal. I like it better if you can talk to him; he can help you more.

I got an "E" in Spanish at first, but now that I'm doing the work I like it a lot. It's a lot of fun to learn a different language. Once in a while, my teacher keeps the same work up too long. You repeat after her and then you say it by yourself. It's kind of a good method of teaching. We have a test every other day and homework every day.

In English we read poems about Negro history—that's all we ever read about—I don't like poems; I like debating class or a teacher who gives you hard problems and keeps you busy. Once in a while in English class my teacher'll give us a story. We always read, that's all we ever do—that and take vocabulary tests, and she'll also give us five or six hundred word pages, poems that we have to write by hand—for handwriting. I don't like that either. I got bad handwriting, but I don't like to write and write and write. It doesn't help me. The only ones who ever complain are my English teachers because we write more in that class than in any other. She says, "Until we get a 'B' in handwriting we are going to keep on writing." If she gave us a 50 word essay a week I wouldn't mind it. But there's a couple of hundred words in that other assignment and it takes a long time to write it—usually about 2 days for me and then with the other homework, you can never get it all done. Almost every student in the class has to do handwriting. We've never complained to her about it because we thought, you know, that if we smart off, we'd get kicked out. This teacher would probably kick us out!

In world history, we have debates all the time. I like debates. We talk about racial problems, but most of the white kids are afraid to speak up because they think once they get outside of school, they'll get jumped if they say anything against the black

people. And this is true. There's too big a percentage of blacks in the school to really get your say-so in. Kids in our class mostly say that they don't think it's right for the colored people to beat up on white people. The colored people are asking for separate States—we debated that in world history and all the colored kids were against the idea. They said that if whites gave them separate States, it would be foolish because once we were divided, somebody else would come in and take over the country. They said they should learn to live together instead of fighting all the time. Then America would be a better place to live.

Once in a while our world history teacher brings up the subject of race and tries to put more Negro history into the schools. In most classes, though, they don't say nothing about it. I think they should bring it up in every class. Like our teacher brought up the Revolutionary War where they threw snowballs at the guards in Boston and the war started. Well, one of the first persons shot was a colored person. Negroes were as important as white people in American history. They should bring more of that up and have the Negroes be part of the people instead of being ashamed because they were slaves. Then maybe they wouldn't try so hard to beat white people up. If you bring too much colored—Negro—history into the school, white kids will stop listening and say, "Who wants to hear about some nigger?" And that's exactly what all the kids are already saying. They'll just sit there and mope around and won't listen. Tomorrow, we've got to see a play. They want all the white kids to go. They're making it a rule—I don't think it's fair. You just shouldn't have to see a play you don't want to see. They always have the colored plays because the colored people set them up. They got to pick the plays but they never have nothing about a famous white person or something like that. So I usually don't go to none of them.

237

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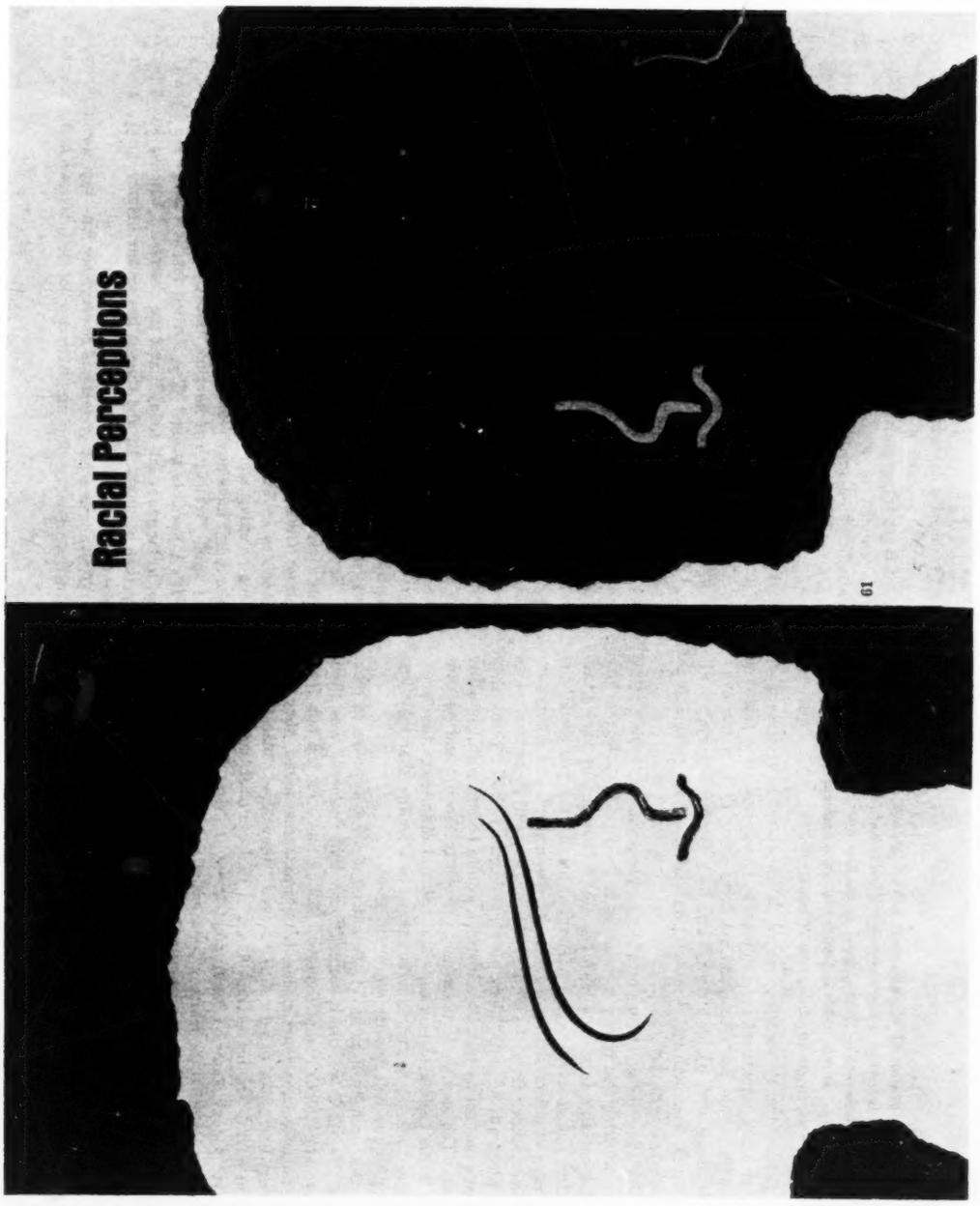
Racial Perceptions
61

Mark

Mark is a senior at a suburban school which was nearly all-white until recently, when a number of black students were bused from the inner-city. The school is in the northeastern part of the country. Mark, who is white, is an above-average student and expects to go to college next year.

School life, by its very nature, is unnatural and integration is no more unnatural. . . . Education is not just pure facts; it is with people, for what good are facts going to do if you can't get along with people? Go off and be a hermit, a hermit with a Ph.D. or something! You can't do that, you have to be able to get along with people.

This is the second year of a busing program, but I don't think it's working out nearly as well as it should. The Negroes are just not able to mingle with the white students, or very little. When you go down to the cafeteria at lunch time, you see all the Negro students sitting together in one corner, and completely disassociated from the whites. Very rarely will there be a white student sitting with them. It's not hostility, but I think they have the feeling that they just don't quite belong with the white kids. The suburb is nicknamed, "Wealthy Town," and perhaps it is the feeling of economic and cultural differences that separates them. I don't know, but there is a feeling that they just don't quite belong with white students.

One problem I am having is that I had always spoken of them as "Negroes" because it seemed to me that "colored" was offensive and "black" was offensive. Riding home on the bus from a music convention the day King was assassinated, they said they didn't like being called "Negro", they liked "black". But I'm having trouble saying "black". It doesn't—it seems offensive. I don't know. I really don't know. I know that "Negro" was a word that the white man gave him and I get the impression that "black" is the name they have chosen for themselves. I don't know who gave them the name, "colored"; I don't know if they choose that or if the white man gave that to them. They didn't like that name; I never have, and I have always spoken of them as "Negroes". I don't like "Afro-Americans"; it sounds unnatural. I would like to say what they want me to call them and I honestly don't know what to call them now.

I sort of wonder if they want this new identity. Maybe they don't want integration; maybe they want to keep their identity. This suburb is predominantly Jewish but there is also a Catholic and a small Protestant community. At the high school, you can't tell one from the other except hearing names like "Goldberg" and "Silverstein" and things like that. Other than that, they've lost their identity. I am Jewish, but I don't think of it when I am walking down the street. Though I have kept my Jewish faith, I have become integrated so that I am considered an American, not a Jew, and the same with the Catholic and the Protestant.

And I think that the Negro wants to keep his identity, just by the very fact that he doesn't look like the rest of us—it keeps him apart. By now wanting to be called "Afro-American", he's even further alienating himself from society, so I wonder if they really do want to be by themselves. Somebody's always coming out with, "Put them on an island. Put them on an island and let them stay there." I know that I'm not in favor of it, but I wonder if that is what they want. I can always go and say, "Well, some of my best friends are Negro," but I like them. One of my father's friends is a Negro psychiatrist and one of our first violinists at school is a Negro girl—her name is Pearl and she lives here; she is not bused in from the city. After Martin Luther King's assassination, she was scared to death of what was going to happen. She was afraid of the riot.

Several times in English we started to have discussions about the riots but we really never got far—not even in government class. Outside the English and social studies departments, the teachers couldn't have cared. I happened to be in math class this morning and the teacher was really pretty wishy-washy—she didn't have any feelings one way or the other. She just kind of said, "Well, it's a horrible thing," because everybody says, "It's a horrible thing." The French teacher said, "We have to go to language lab today," and the chemistry teacher had a big lecture planned. By the time it got to our history class I guess the topic had died.

There was a lot of tension. Everybody was just about ready for the school to blow up. After school that day, we had a silent

239

1039O

memorial service. What surprised me was that the first students to leave were the black students. They stayed maybe 10 minutes. Then, one by one, they left. I think it left some us feeling a little ridiculous. Here he was their leader and they weren't going to stay, so why are the white people staying? Are they doing it just so they can look good? King was doing a good job; he was a man to save the world—he was the man to do it. I really felt he cared. I didn't want to leave; I don't know quite why and I don't think anybody said a word to me the whole time. It was sort of beautiful—it really was. And now, as soon as he is dead, Stokley Carmichael is saying, "Get out there and burn and loot." If black power is not violence, and if there are Stokley Carmichaels and H. Rap Browns, it must be that some Negroes want Stokley Carmichaels and H. Rap Browns. They are not forcing themselves on anybody. I don't quite know why this is what some Negroes want.

I think—I think the people doing the looting are financially red about the eye. I don't see it as senseless; I see that they hate their life. Like I can understand it's a hot summer night and a gang of kids get together and a policeman comes along and beats one of them up—but I doubt if anybody else knew why they rioted. I think the trouble with looting is that it's fun—it's fun to smash windows, take clothing and TV sets—but they are not doing it for civil rights. It's used as an alibi. If the Negro is going to burn, loot, and smash windows, why does he do it in his own neighborhood? Why does he destroy what is his? Someone living in a rich suburb is not going out and loot because he has everything that he wants. So why doesn't the Negro come out to the rich suburbs? It doesn't make sense to me. The stores that were looted belong to the white owners. You see, they hate the white man, but they really don't know why they hate him. They just want to hate, I think.

I was afraid of the rioting but I thought, "Maybe now we are going to have to do something because we are going to be afraid not to. The white man is getting too afraid not to do anything. He is not going to dare to just sit there and hope it's going to blow over." And it seems to have done something. I don't know; I have no evidence, but civil rights has been stirred up again. People were starting to forget and, like myself, getting a little irritated with it, you know, "Here they go, looting again. They don't even care about civil rights." But the assassination sort of woke up everybody—sort of jabbed them in the arm.

Norman

Norman is a white student in a large city in the northwestern part of the country. He has been attending a nearly all-white school although he plans to transfer to a racially mixed one for his senior year. Norman hopes to major in psychology when he goes to college.

One thing I really envy about the Negroes is that they have a sense of purpose: they know what they want. They are not, you know, frustrated about being a rebel without a cause; you know, having this feeling of energy but not knowing where to direct it. They really have something that they want and are fighting for it. I kind of envy them because I don't have anything like that. I go from one thing to another and nothing really seems to have any permanent relevance. I started thinking seriously that I really kind of felt guilty about, you know, it's easy to talk and say, "Oh, I'm not prejudiced" and "I'm open-minded," but it doesn't do anybody any good if it is just a theoretical discussion. The only way you can accomplish anything is really by doing something. I just kind of started feeling guilty. I've been brought up with the principles of being open-minded—that's really what makes me sick about my friends.

None of my friends seem very concerned and as a matter of fact, I am coming to the conclusion that the majority of them are pretty much racists. They're so bigoted and everything and I know that they are going to teach their kids to be exactly the same way. They may never meet a Negro through their whole life but they know they will hate them, and that they're dirty and don't keep their houses up. They just don't care. One kid asked, "Well, how come everybody gets so upset when Martin Luther King got shot when nobody cares when George Lincoln Rockwell is killed—it's just the same thing." People don't think about it; they don't want to think about it, so they just dismiss it from their minds. I get kind of a hopeless feeling about changing those kids' attitudes at school because it is obvious that these guys who feel this way don't want to talk about it.

240

10391

They just—they don't want to think about it, you know. They just get uncomfortable and want to pass it off.

There is an awful lot that I haven't learned and there is no way that I can learn it by going to an all-white school or an almost all-white school. Though academically, it is probably the best school in the city, I feel like it is kind of socially stiff and narrow. The worse part about it is that it is so homogeneous. Probably the kids from the richest districts go there; I can think of maybe two or three Negroes who live in the area. I mean, I have grown up with middle class white kids, I went to grade school with them, and I really have to admit my ignorance about the racial problem. I am transferring to a school that has a big cross-section for my senior year. I know it's not going to be a natural setting because I am not a minority race in this country and I'm going to be a minority when I am at that school. It would be a good experience to know what it's like, but I don't want to stay a minority race because there is no point in making myself suffer any more than I have to.

It's probably more important for my school than for any other in the city to have programs that go down to the central area. Not so much with the attitude of helping the Negroes, just for learning what is going on. But they don't have anything like that—at least not that I've heard of. I realize that I can't bring the poor black out of his poverty; I realize it's a false idea but—I just kind of want to understand, you know. It is kind of scary to have all this black power around and have no idea exactly what they are advocating.

Black power is getting to mean that Negroes want a separate society and they don't want to take white standards; they want to keep their own culture separate—they talk of improving their own economic conditions, taking over for themselves, but not being absorbed into the white community. I read about Negroes during and after Reconstruction when they didn't think of themselves as being equal with whites because they had always been taught that they weren't equal. They didn't want to be black and if there was one thing they could have, it was to be white.

It seems to me, though, that the reason they would want to go to white schools is just being practical. They realize that if black schools aren't as good, it is not because blacks aren't naturally as good; it's because, you know, they haven't had the opportunity to be educated as well and don't have as good facilities. It is not so much a matter of pride in being black or not; it is just being pragmatic.

Now it's their right if they don't want to be integrated. They sure are not giving the impression that they want to be. They don't say, "We want to," you know. I mean, they seem to be making a choice, taking a stand, "Forget it, white! We don't want your help. We are going to do this on our own. You don't understand us and you are not doing us any good. We don't want you as allies; we don't trust you and we don't like you." That's the big thing that seems to be the most frustrating—it may be a little out of desperation—well, not desperation, just that it hasn't worked the other way, I mean, they haven't been integrated. It seems to me that if they want to be integrated, they are not going to get it by saying that they don't want to do it.

I doubt very much if the majority of Negroes feel that way. Speeches by Rap Brown or someone would say, "Well, go and get a gun because you are going to need it this summer." I read it in the paper—though it is usually just parts of their speeches. I realize that they're taken out of context, but it seems to me that what he says is so emphatic, it kind of seems like violence—I mean, I am not saying that it is scary to me. I would much rather have things happen nonviolently, but I realize that nonviolence really doesn't get too far.

Beth

Beth is a white student in a school located in a large city on the east coast. The student body is almost evenly divided between blacks and whites. Beth will graduate in June. She describes herself as an average student and plans to study nursing.

I think the racial disorders are Communist-instigated. I mean, I think there are Communist attitudes in among the racism. There must be some kind of Communist power down deep in the heart of the black militants and the black people because I am very close to a couple of colored kids and—I like colored people—I do. I don't have anything against them, and I think they are equal to everybody.

241

10392

I was talking to some colored kids—they don't want black power; they just want equal rights; they just want to have their pride restored. I had down-to-earth talks especially with one boy in my advisory and history classes. I'm very close to him and feel free to talk to him about the racial situations. He likes to talk to me about it, too. From what he says, it seems to me that there are so many colored people who don't know what to do that they follow militants or they follow the people that are making trouble just because they don't know what else to do and don't have enough background to stand up for what they believe. They don't know what they believe in exactly because it's so mixed up nowadays.

Colored kids say equality when they describe black power. I don't know exactly how the definition is set in my mind. "Power" is a very strong word and if you said "Black Power" right away, if you don't know what it means, you think that it's a force that is going to overpower you. That's what it sounds like, like an overtaking of the white people; but they want too much power, I think. White power is almost gone now. White power is slave holders, white racists, and white employers who wouldn't employ blacks. White power is segregation.

There's a definite gap now between the coloreds and the whites in this school. There is fear, especially on the white people's side. It's like an overwhelming feeling. Even if they try to overcome it, it's impossible because there's so much tension now. I can't understand what's happened because every teacher I know treats every kid equally. I mean, there's no discrimination at all. Maybe between a few ignorant whites, there's discrimination, but it's always been that way, and always will be that way. I can't see why the blacks want anything different than what they were having before—especially in this school. They never made an effort to change anything and there wasn't anything to be changed. I don't think there is a way to change things now. It's horrible to just think of it.

There was supposed to be a man talk in assembly—a black militant or something—and he stirred up the colored kids so much that they just shoved every white person out of the auditorium including the teachers. The whole school was crowded by whites and blacks, and everybody was screaming, and you could hear the screams through the third floor. I had my history class during that time and we discussed it in there only half the kids weren't there to discuss it. I think there was two colored people and they were saying that it was nothing—it was nothing; just a couple of trouble-makers stirring up trouble. It now turns out that almost every colored person in this school has joined the other side. That's what I call it, "the other side"—it was like they were a traitor if they didn't go with them because they are blacks, so no matter what they were doing, whether it was wrong or right, they went with them anyhow.

And now the worst ones have made a decision and everybody follows the decision. It's crazy! They want 50 percent of the students in the school to be black and they want their own lunch period. If you ask me that sounds like segregation. My choir is now all-black—it never used to be that way; it used to be integrated, but now—I—don't like it that way because there's hard feelings for the whites. They are always talking about wanting to be equal and integrated, but that isn't integration. Whites feel they are being left out and a lot of blacks are saying, "You ought to be left out. We were left out for so long, now it's our chance to get ahead." It's kind of carried away. In my eyes, they are all equal, but I think black power is crazy.

Ever since then, there has been nothing but hate for both sides; like these people lost their senses. You used to be able to walk through the hall and pass colored people and think nothing of it, but now you feel like they're going to say something sarcastic to you. In fact, the other day I was walking in the girl's room and a colored girl comes behind me and says, "We're going to get you." I didn't even know her; I never did anything to her that would make her say that. I don't understand what they're doing. It's so hard to grasp all this.

We talked a lot about equality among the races in history class and what we thought would happen in the future, and it came out that to have colored people live peaceably with white people, there's going to have to be intermarriage between the two races. Of course, I don't think it's going to happen soon, but it's going to work out that way. You'll see more and more of it as the years go by. The white people would marry the colored people; the colored people would marry the white people

—I never thought about what the kids would turn out to be. We never talk about that.

The teacher used to ask what would I do if a colored guy asked me out. I have had that happen to me. Most white girls wouldn't accept a date right away by a black guy because he's colored. It's like, "You stand on your own side and I'll stand on my side: you marry blacks and I'll marry whites." A lot of colored kids I know have asked me out and I felt funny. I didn't know how to act. It wasn't that I had anything against them. I think I would have gone out with them if I wasn't worried about what people would think because there are a lot of colored kids in school that are so close to me that I don't even see their color. I think I'll change as time goes on, but that's why I turned down a few guys. I explained it to them. Most of the times, we both felt the same way about it. You can't just live your life in a fishbowl; you have to consider other people.

That history teacher made us care and everybody knew what was going on. Black students got to say what they wanted; he let them say anything they wanted to say; he didn't hold us back. It was a really good class because we found out how the colored people really felt and the colored people found out how the white people in that class felt. I think all teachers should encourage discussions like that because, you know, some white people hate colored people just because they're colored and some black people hate white people just because of their color. It shouldn't be that way.

I think the idea of having history is good because it brings a lot of people out of the dark, especially white people. Because, you know, the study impresses on whites as being the ones that hurt the colored people the most. I mean, because people just hate colored people because of their skin, that's not right. If they learn from the beginning how it really is, the colored people —no matter what they were taught from childhood—can learn to forget it and, you know, learn new things. That's the way it should be and it turns out better for both sides.

It's now getting to a point where I know they have equal opportunities, maybe not in the South as much as in the North, but it's growing rapidly. I don't think any colored person has any excuse for not having a good paying job or going to a good school or getting a good education because they have as many, if not better, opportunities than white people have. I went to apply for a job this summer. I had to wait and see if a colored person applied first and if he wanted the same job, I would be turned down. That's crazy opportunity! And the situation is like that all over the country with all employers. It happened to me and I know in the city they do it all over the place.

Race doesn't make much difference any more—that's why I can't understand what's happening. Everybody I know used to get along. It's just like a volcano erupted. It never used to be like this—there never used to be a feeling of hate, I don't know what's happened.

Roxanne

Roxanne, an Anglo, is a junior at a nearly all-Anglo school in a suburban area outside a large city in the Southwest. The school has a substantial number of blacks and Mexican Americans. Roxanne is planning to graduate early so as to attend a neighboring teachers' college with her friends.

I don't know all I should about the conditions in the schools on the other side of town. I do know that they have many problems because the kids are poor. They can't educate them as much. They can't require a person to buy a workbook because the child can't.

I don't think their education is—well, it's not offered like it is in the better schools because the district they live in can't pay the taxes, and without this you can't get the fine books and all the materials you need for a fine school. I wouldn't say it was exactly fair, but many of these people bring it on themselves. Their religion believes in having many kids. In a way this is good; in a way it is bad. If you can afford the kids, then by all means have them, you know. But if you can't then they shouldn't be brought into this world. Unwanted children are something else.

If a poor American really wants to do something about his education, I think he should try to talk to someone who can help him. He can go into town, look up councils, or talk to a school principal or a superintendent. If you tell him that you really want to learn, that you think you have the potential and all you

243

10394

need is the chance, then I am sure he'll help you.

When you are born in America, you have a chance. But in so many countries like Japan and China, a person's life is not so important. In America a person's life is something, but if a person dies in Japan, that is just one more to be done away with —it's not too important. I feel that human life is valued. Although they sit around on their porches and—well, like the winos, are not too worried about anything but their drinks—the others, the children, even when they are getting into trouble, they want to live. The value of life is important. They don't have the high ideals or the high goals that the better cared for kids do, you know, those who are middle class or rich. Of course, they do dream of a fine car and money, but as far as becoming something—going to college, and being a leader of people—I don't think this is something that they look to. It's because of their environment. I don't think they are made to love people either; I don't think they get the feeling to love others because the others around them aren't too loveable.

Poverty for the people on the west side and those in Japan and China is different because, at least, the Americans are a free people. We have freedom of speech and freedom of action, as far as keeping in the law. Countries have to have laws, but they are free people—poor people do have this in their favor. I have nothing against colored people, but I feel that people should be given equal opportunities. What they do with these opportunities is up to the person. They claim they are being treated unfair; that they couldn't get a job every place they went. And I said, "Well I've tried to get lots of jobs and couldn't, you know, because I wasn't qualified." That was the thing I tried to get across to them. It's not because you're black.

There are about six colored people in my English class and I noticed that when we write papers, they always end up with something to do with black power or the difference between white people and the colored, the Negro. Some things don't even pertain to this, but they find a way of bringing it out. When school first began, we wrote a paper on ourselves—what we like and don't like—and the colored boy told about how he doesn't like the mistreatment with the Negro. Then we wrote a character sketch, five out of the six in our room wrote on Martin Luther King. When black power and demands for equal rights started, I thought it was right. In a way, they had a legitimate complaint—now, I don't. I think they want superior rights, not equal rights.

One of my best friends in the band is a colored boy. He's a nut. I really like him. We argue all the time about equal rights and civil rights. Well, I wouldn't say that we argue, we debate it. He will tell me what he thinks and I usually define the white people. I didn't before. I agreed to a lot of things he said, but it seems that the colored person now has a closed mind. What they feel or what their leaders say is what they believe. They do not look for themselves to see what's going on. They have a closed mind to other people, "Don't confuse me with facts, my mind is made up." They don't welcome suggestions or other people's opinions.

Larry's mind is made up. I don't think I can ever change him. I thought I might have a chance, but he has his opinions and won't change them under any circumstance. Now, I believe that a person should stand up for his rights and have principles; by this I mean moral principles—that's good—but not having an open mind is not good. Oh, he says that Negroes are treated inferior. He says that they are not given a chance. He says this and he believes this, and nobody is going to change his mind. In many cases, I think that the Negro has a better chance at getting a job than a white person. If there were discrimination, our city would have riots. We would have all sorts of defiance against the law and we haven't. There hasn't been much trouble with racial problems and our school doesn't seem to have many either.

Kathy

Kathy attends a nearly all-white suburban school outside a medium-sized southern city. She is white. Kathy has been an honors student all through school and after graduation in June, plans to spend a year in Europe as an exchange student with a church-related program before beginning college.

I've got a good friend who's a Negro, his name is Larry. He's a top basketball player and he mixes well with the students. He's just one of us. Larry's always the center of attention.

244

10395

Everybody likes Larry. He's real nice and the boys don't mind rooming with him, you know, when they're on basketball trips. Larry's not a top-notch student—he's about the average class, but he gets along real fine. Larry's kind of disturbed to see white people and colored people fighting and arguing because he has so many good white friends. If more people were like Larry we wouldn't have any trouble at all.

I don't think it's really important to have Negroes in the school, but if they had to be there, I wouldn't want it to be just half-white and half-Negro, you know—I'd want them to just gradually build up in the school. Most of the Negro students stick together. They're always in their little bunch and in class they'll kind of veer away. I think if they had—if they liked people, they'd get to know people. In class, you know, they kind of stick to themselves. Just seeing them in the hall, they're not the kind of people—you know, there are a lot of "all American" Negroes that you'd really enjoy knowing, but these don't seem like the top-notch students, except for Larry and another fell[illegible] the band.

Riots are senseless to me. I think quiet, intelligent talk will do twice as much as a riot, but they get so emotional about it and end up yelling. When Martin Luther King was killed we talked till we were blue in the face. It was just on everybody's mind. Some people thought that it was good that he had died. Before he was even shot, some people said, "Oh, I wish somebody would shoot him." But then he really was shot and they were kind of shaken up because of all the riots. He's played up to be such a peace-lover—Nobel Prize winner and everything—but everywhere he's gone there's been a riot. Nothing was going wrong in Memphis until the union stepped in and King and Abernathy came down. They kind of told them that, "You ought to be mad; you ought to get riled up," and the Negroes did. They didn't know what was going on.

We've talked in church for the last three Sundays straight on the racial situation. We talked about what we can do to help end the bitterness, and so we're planning on having some colored Sunday school come visit us and talk it over with them, you know, just have an open session and find out how they feel about what's been going on.

Virginia

Virginia is a sophomore in a small city on the west coast. She is Mexican American. Blacks and Mexican Americans at her school comprise about 11 percent of the total student population. Virginia wants to become a librarian.

I have some friends that are colored. I never had anything against them before, but sometimes they bother me, you know. I like them all right as long as they leave you alone and talk to you fine. Like, well, I had gone to places and I was with my friends and we were just fooling around or something and they would start following us everywhere we went—I don't know, I just don't like that.

After Martin Luther King was shot they all got together on the Senior patio because it was a white who had killed him. They were pretty mad at the whites. After Kennedy was shot, we sat out there too and they said, "Why should we have to sit with the whites?", and we said, "We aren't asking you. If you want to sit with us, you can. Why don't we become as one? That is what Kennedy always wanted." They said, "Well, why didn't you guys come and sit with us?" We said, "We tried, but you guys said no." So, you know, it works both ways. There are some black who are prejudiced against whites. I never thought of it that way before until this past year, you know, that coloreds could ever be prejudiced against whites, but the coloreds were pretty mad after King was shot and then somebody said, "It's a man against man killing." They said, "Remember it was a white that killed a black, and it was a white that killed Kennedy, so it is not man against man. It is white against white; not white against black."

Not all the blacks are for this racial rioting and the burning of buildings and everything. Some of them are good, but this one crowd, they are getting a group together to get a riot up. They say, "Well, I will do it because you will." They argue together too. I can't figure out why they burn. I mean, they've got homes—I mean, maybe their house will be burned. They are just causing more trouble; they are getting themselves killed, the whites are getting killed, and there is not going to be much left. Maybe some of the reason they do this is because

245

10396

they say, "Well, you guys want your rights, you don't think we are as good as you," and so they show that they are good and that they can do what they want and not get caught. There is more to it, I know there is, but I really don't know why.

We were talking about the black students yesterday. They feel they shouldn't be in school on time. Not all of them have a reason, they are just late because they want to be late. They really don't care if they are on top or what kind of grades they get because they have to go to Vietnam and fight the war, and then they come back here and are not treated the same. So all they do is come to school and somehow get into discussion talking about black and whites and the history of the blacks. The blacks don't want to learn about themselves. They know about their past history. Who wants to learn about his own nationality, I mean race, rather than learn a subject?

There are quite a few Mexican kids, but only about 12 colored kids and you find that a lot of white kids won't associate with them. Now, I will, but no matter what color you are, you step on me, I am going to step right back. If you treat me good, I will treat you good. I am not prejudiced or anything like that—that's another thinking that is kind of bad with the school; a lot of kids think, "Well, gee, I am lighter than you, so I won't say hello. You say hello to me first. I am better than you; I am superior because I am white." I don't dig on that. I don't think anybody's any better than anyone. When God made men, he made them all equal; if somebody came out a little darker, it's not the kid's fault. We are made the same, but only there is a different color. Their lips may be bigger or their noses wider, but they can't help it, I mean, that's how they were born. Some Negroes are mixed, white and black—I don't know what they do. I really don't. I think it is worse for them in a way, I don't know. Like when it comes time for a girl to get married, who is she going to go with, a black or a white? It's really a big mess.

My future mother-in-law doesn't like me because of my nationality. It makes me feel like some kind of creep from another world! You can't please somebody that thinks they are superior to you, you know, you are never good enough. Like, she's Irish and she's white—she is milk-white. She doesn't like me because I am Mexican, Filipino, and Spanish—you just can't judge a person by color.

The coloreds are tired of the whites treating them the way they do. They want equal rights and white people treat them dirty. I think they treat them really rotten. They are not fair to them just because they are darker. Down South, they have separate bathrooms and separate bus stations and separate drinking fountains and stuff like that—I don't think that's fair. I mean, how would like it if someone made you sit on the other side of the bus or made you drink out of a separate water fountain? No white person would stand for it. I think the Negroes are going to just say, "Well, you guys ain't going to do something, so we are going to do something about it ourselves." But I also think that that's the wrong attitude to take.

They should find one man and tell that man what they want and let him go about getting it, but peacefully. I don't think that man was Dr. King; I don't think his people really believed in him that much. A lot of Negroes felt, "Well, if we follow him he has a good chance of getting into a riot." Because you know, very often a lot of his "peace marches" turned into riots. It wasn't that his people were following him, but they just felt that, "If we follow him, well, something is going to give, or if we start a little trouble, here is a chance for a riot." They think they gain recognition by it, but they are only hurting themselves really, because—I think the Negro kind of wants sympathy, that's what the white people might classify it as, "sympathy", but really he just wants equal rights; he wants to be able to look for a job and if he qualifies, to get the job—I think that's part of it, too. Still, they should choose just one man or one woman and have that person go up to Congress and tell Congress, "This is what we want. You don't want us to protest, you don't want us to riot, but this is what we want."

Protests are good in a way and bad in a way. If blacks don't get their way, they are going to keep on burning. They are getting recognition by protesting and all. I think that they should want to help themselves. If I was a Negro, I would feel, "Well, look, they ain't paying any attention to me. If I just sit here, keep my mouth shut, and don't say what I want, I won't get it. Maybe if I go out there and march up and down, they will say, 'Well, these people want something' ". I don't think white people

246

10397

take time to really find out what the Negro wants. If the Negro leaders and the white leaders sat down and discussed it, maybe something would get worked out. I guess when you get mad enough, and want something bad enough, you are going to get it; and no matter how you are going to do it, you are going to get it. If I were a Negro and I didn't have equal rights, I would end up protesting, but, also, I don't think there is anything that would make me very mad.

In another way, it is still wrong what they are doing—rioting, you know. If white people wanted something, they wouldn't go protest and all this stuff. There is a lot of poor whites too, but you don't see them out really protesting and rioting. The colored people think, "I am darker than you, you have to treat me better, you have to feel sorry for me." They want a lot of sympathy and a lot of free handouts—I don't think that is right either. If you want to be treated equal, go out and work equal. Some of them do want jobs and want to work for themselves. Maybe the young people say they want charity but the older people want to support their families—and they have large families! I mean, I am not prejudiced or anything but sometimes, some of them are no good.

I don't like it if a colored person is better qualified than a white, and they give the job to the white—I don't think that is fair. If a man or a woman is qualified, give him the job. Now that's what I call "equal rights". The Negro wants everything that a white wants in life: happiness, peace, that's what I want in life—just happiness and peace. No more killing; no more prejudice; everybody able to get along. I feel, though, that this will never happen.

Edgar

Edgar attends an all-Mexican American school in a large city in the Southwest. He is a senior. At the time of the interview, he was uncertain what he would do after graduation although he was considering applying to a local community college.

I haven't known that many Anglos. Those in my community is all Mexicanos. If they wou' blindfold you and throw you in there, you would think you r e in Mexico, aside from the signs and all that.

Where I come from, everybody speaks Spanish, and that's all you know, Spanish. And when you are 6 years old, all of a sudden they put you into this Anglo school, and it's English right away—nobody knows how to speak English. Then they try to counteract this by forbidding you to speak Spanish. Spanish is bad, you know, they keep drilling this into you: "Spanish is bad, Spanish is bad." When I was little, I had the idea that Spanish was a dirty language and I felt kind of rotten.

You get so you don't identify. Who am I, you know. Am I an American? No, I'm not. I am a Mexican American. Now, I don't actually know what to call myself because I hate the title, "Mexican American" while I am talking to my friends. When they say "Americano" they mean Anglo but look at me, I am brown—I am not an Americano. And they say, "But Americano means American," so everybody to them in America means an Anglo. There has got to be a problem somewhere when something as simple or as important as what you are, and you don't know. I think the problem is in the schools because they dont teach you anything.

I got this thing. I am as brave as a lion as long as I am not near Anglos. If I hadn't seen any Anglos for a long time and if right away I get thrown in with a bunch of them, you know, I feel kind of funny. I feel alone—all by myself. I feel inferior. And when I mix with Negroes, I can't—I will talk with them, the whole bit, but there is always this little thing about, you know, I feel uncomfortable. I haven't been used to it, that's why. I hang around with nothing but Mexicanos and when you throw in this colored guy, I don't know—he is different. He is not the same type that I am used to dealing with, see? You have to have schools with Mexicanos, Anglos, and Negroes and whatever the city is made out of, so everybody can see how everybody is.

They tell me I could have gone to any school in the city but what would I be doing in an all-Anglo school, you know. I couldn't have gone to any school. I couldn't have gone to an all-Anglo school because I wouldn't have been able to take that workload. I would have flunked like that and my best bet was to stay around the neighborhood because I could find an easy school. The standards aren't as high. Most of the kids all feel like, "I

247

10398

can't do it." They have been taught to feel like this.

I remember phrases from my history book like, "Santa Anna knew that he was dealing with a superior class of men." It is phrases like that stay in my mind; they stay on the surface, but they keep drilling this junk in your heads until it gets to your subconscious. "Santa Anna knew that he was dealing with a superior kind of man; superior kind of race." And, "He knew that they were too much for him" or, "To the south of our border is a country inhabited by people who like siestas and who take life generally at a very easy pace. This sleepy atmosphere induces a laziness." In other words, God bless the lazy bums. They never will make anything of themselves! What am I—inferior or something?

And I remember the geography book we had in that history class. We got to this town in the United States and it said: "In the city, in the plaza area to the West Side lived many Mexicans." So here is a book that has been approved by the State; they use it all over the place and it comes out with a crazy deal like, "Where many Mexicans live." Am I a Mexican or an American or a Mexican American or a Chicano or what? In the book it says in black and white, "Where many Mexicans live." So I was calling me Mexican. And, you know, what really burned me up was that a lot of people don't mind it any more. They are getting used to it; they are being indoctrinated with this; they don't care any more. They are 6, 7, 8, years old when they start school and can be molded like clay. You tell them, "Man, you are a little bit too dumb," so they think, "Oh, I am dumb." They believe what you tell them. Some of this junk has been going on for so long and is so rotten that they are getting used to being treated like animals.

Some of those teachers who've got names like "Hernandez" are not Mexicans any more. They hate themselves, I think; self-hate, you know. Like, they don't want to be identified with a Mexican, "Don't brand me that." What's so wrong about being a Mexican? Students are coming out like that. The top students are really getting pressure from the teachers not to identify with friends on the West Side; that the only way to get anywhere is to leave the group entirely. Like, you know, become a pharmacist and move out. Forget the group—that's the only way to get ahead. Then there is the rest. They might not go to college, but they want to make a decent living, yet they retain this identity of being a Mexican. Then, there is the group at the bottom that says, "Oh, I want a beer," and "Don't bother me with all that junk,"—they don't give a hell either way. They are frustrated; they don't think they have a chance. I don't blame them, you know. They come out of real rotten families and real rotten environment, and then they get into trouble and all this Mickey Mouse junk in school about their history, they don't have anything to be proud of. There is always a restaurant where you can wash dishes. I mean, I don't care what they tell me, I go and apply at some department store where there's an opening, an Anglo comes, he is going to get the job. I know that. It's weird. If they need a stockboy somewhere in the back, you know, they might take me, but working with the people up front—it will be an Anglo. People around here feel that it more or less ought to be like that. They are used to it.

The Mexicano has been kind of slow, but once we get the ball going, it isn't going to stop until we get what we want. And a lot of them are waking up saying, "Wait a minute!" I just hope that we get it through the proper channels because—I mean, what I learned out of trying to go through the proper channels is that you can't get anything done. There is more than one way to skin a cat. This town is getting to a point where it's boiling. If the pressure is great enough, they have to change. But when you get that much pressure, it is usually going to be violence. What are people yelling and screaming for—nothing but their rights. All they are asking for is what is supposed to be theirs. I hate to say this, but I don't think that nonviolence is going to work.

No Government is strong enough to suppress the whole country. When you have a Government that is not catering to the wishes of the people it should be straightened out. There always has to be a little trouble. It's good, because if nobody said anything, if nobody asked any questions, if nobody did anything, well what would you have? A state of robots. And no Government is perfect. So actually, when you have a riot it means that there is a problem and people are interested in trying to solve it.

History repeats itself. You have a riot, you have a lot of

248

10399

burning, you know, national attention is focused upon the problems and everybody wants it solved. Look at King: marching, voter registration drives. I think he was effective when he died; when they shot him that really brought him out. It is kind of a rotten thing to say but here he is nonviolence, you know, and he is shot in the head.

When they were burning, a lot of people used to say, "Well, I was with the Negro all the way—before he got nonviolent." Which means, you know, "I was with the Negro while he was washing my car, or while he was fixing breakfast. I was with him 100 percent then, but when he started doing something about it. . . ." It's kind of hard. What if he doesn't want to give in to violence; what's next? We tried it one way; all our lives we have been nonviolent. We haven't fought; there haven't been that many riots; there haven't been many burnings. We have tried it their way; we are going to try violence.

This country is so mixed up—I mean, you don't have any choice. Either people start practicing what they preach or this country is going to go up in flames. A revolution, that's what you have if you start bringing in the Army. And how many Mexicans are in the Army? How many Negroes? Are they going to be killing their own? Boy, either it works or that's it for the United States. There are no two ways about it.

It is certainly too late for my parents, it might be too late for me, but maybe it's not too late for my kids. I am a sad case right here. I know I could have been somebody. I mean, not that I am not going to be anybody. I know and I don't care who tells me that I didn't have an equal chance with some Bobby Smith or Sally Jones somewhere else. I didn't have those same chances. And I will die with one of those fire bombs in my hand or with a rifle atop a building before I let my kid go through the same junk that I did. It sounds scared to some people, but the Anglos fought in World War I and all that because of what they believed. They made the mistake to teach me to believe almost the same stuff: fight for what's right and for what's good. So I will fight. I will fight anybody. And actually if I do this, I feel I will be making America strong because I am practicing what I have been taught, you know, "the American ideas." So if I were not to do anything, then I would actually be a very poor American and I would be helping to destroy it. It sounds corny and stupid, but how many people would make a statement like, "I love America?" I do love America. I know that sounds stupid but I love this country and I think it is a great place to live in. It's man's only hope, you know.

America is going to have to straighten out. There are no two ways about it. This country can't go on like this. The schools fail and then the Government wastes more money on all those other training programs. If they straighten out the schools and teach us our culture, our heritage, our role in American life and start treating us as we are, Mexicanos—I mean Americans. That's America's hope as far as I am concerned. If [that] fails, we all go down the drain.

Vernon

Vernon, a sophomore, has been attending a nearly all-white school in a southern medium-sized city for 2 years. He takes academic courses and considers himself a fairly good student. Vernon is black.

The reason I decided to go to a white school was because I had gone to another school the year before and I had a lot of trouble with the teachers and with students in higher grades, and I got into fights all the time. There were only two schools in my district close to me, so I chose the better of the two. The white school has been around longer; it has a longer history, more funds are put into it, and they have the best teachers because the superintendent attended that school and naturally he would want it to be the best in the county. And the school is the best in the county.

This school has about 1,600 and only 13 are Negro. It seems like we ought to have a lot of problems, but we don't. More Negroes ought to come, but they don't want to. A lot of them live close to the school, within walking distance, but they don't want to go, and I can't understand why. Maybe they think they can't compete or are afraid, or just don't want to be around white students.

When I first attended I felt funny around the people; I felt out of place, but in time it got better I wanted to play football,

219

10400

and I entered when I was a freshman. When I first got on the football team, a lot of the guys wouldn't talk to me, and they acted as if they were scared of me.

I went to the principal about one guy who thought he was tough because I didn't want to get into a fight. The principal told me not to worry, that things would be better and that people had to learn how to adjust. I thought everything would come out all right, but in every class the people wouldn't talk to me. I was quiet in the class and wouldn't say much. All I did was get my lesson. I made the honor roll just about every 6 weeks the first year.

I had two fights that year. The first one was with a guy 2 years older than I was. Every day he call[ed] me names, so one day I fought him in the cafeteria. We didn't fight long; we just exchanged a few licks. A teacher took us to the office and we talked about it. The principal made me promise that I'd never get into a fight again, so I had to promise.

Everything was pretty good and I was adjusting; I had several friends. Most of my friends were on the football team, and everybody was getting along all right. I began talking to some of the girls—friendly conversation. They were the most shy at first. And some guy wanted to fight me. I didn't fight; I backed down, because I remembered the promise I made. But he kept after me every day, so I just had to fight him. We fought, and I beat him up one time. I went to the office on my own. I explained to the principal why I couldn't avoid the fight, and he told me I had to learn to adjust. He told me they would learn.

I didn't think the principal was prejudiced, but I thought he was going slower than he should have been going while not being as direct with the students as he should have been. He would not directly tell them that they shouldn't be prejudiced against Negroes or anything like that. He just beat around the bush. My second year was a little bit better. My relations with the students were better, and I began to talk in class with them hard as I did when I was a freshman, so my grades weren't as high but still, I wasn't failing anything. At the beginning of the year I went to football camp and all the new guys coming on the varsity team have to go through a special initiation. I was the only Negro on the team, and so I thought everybody was going to be after me, but they weren't that much, but I did have to take something from them like everyone else. At the football camp I learned that they played a lot and that they always didn't mean what they said. If they called you "a nigger" or something like this, it wasn't bad all the time. There's a lot of guys on the football team now that call me "nigger", but I don't get mad at them; I just call them "honky" or something. It's just an exchange of words, nothing more.

Most of the Negro students don't feel the way I do about white students because they haven't come into contact with them. It took the football team at camp to make me realize that they were only kidding about a lot of the things they were doing. A lot of my white friends are not friends with the other Negro students because the other Negro students object to them saying what they consider a bad word once in a while.

I think it's wrong for you to have a friend who would be afraid to say a bad word such as "nigger" around you. A lot of my friends who never say it, sometimes it will slip out and they'll say, "Excuse me; I'm sorry; don't pay any attention." And I say, "It's all right; it doesn't bother me." That's the way it works out, but some of the other students, if they hear it, immediately they'll get all fired up and they're ready to fight and start an argument or something. But I've learned to go the other way, and it's really not as big a problem as people think it is, in my opinion. If people all learn how to get along with each other and learn to give a little and take a little, then everything will come out all right.

Some of the Negro students are prejudiced—I'm prejudiced, in a way, myself—but they aren't as prejudiced as some of the white students that I know. But still everything works out all right, it works out fine. I don't think that prejudice keeps them from getting their lessons. I think they have other reasons that they don't get it, but most of them do get their lessons. Most of the Negro students are doing pretty well. It's not as hard as a lot of white people make it appear. A lot of them say that Negroes can't come to white schools and keep up with white students, but I know this is wrong, because at the school I went to, I wasn't always the smartest in my class, but I was at the top and when I came here, I found out that I could be at the top of

250

10401

251

the class if I really wanted to. A lot of other Negro students were just like I was, they weren't so smart at the other schools, but still they do just as well at a white school, and one of the best white schools. I don't think that the learning capacity is any different between the students. You have real smart on both sides, but just saying a person is dumb because he's a Negro is just somebody's way of expressing his racism.

Last year when we had assemblies and things like that the Negro students always got together and sat together, but everyone is adjusting now, and they don't look for each other. They have other friends to go to, and that's making a big difference. In the lunchroom we used to sit together. We still sit together sometimes, but not all the time. We don't go around trying to find each other and trying to make Negroes the only ones we'll sit with, but we have other friends to sit with and eat with.

The white students have accepted us more, and we talk more freely with them. For example, last year when I was a freshman, there was a girl in my homeroom who sat beside me in the auditorium in assembly. She never would sit there because she didn't want to sit beside me. I thought it was funny, but this year she's a real good friend of mine, and we're talking and discussing things. She's changed in a year, and I have, too, toward the opposite race.

There's still one place where I come in contact with people that are afraid of Negroes. That's on the school bus. I haven't had any classes or made friends with any of the students on the school bus, and no one else has. They seem reluctant toward us, and on the bus they won't sit with us. We're not begging them to sit with us, but if there's a seat and a Negro is in it, they won't take it. They'll stand up before they'll take it, and I turn around and laugh at them. Last year when I was a freshman, they threw paper at us because we sat near the front. We took it last year because the bus driver told us he didn't want any trouble on his bus, but this year I've adjusted to the students enough to feel that the people on the bus ought to adjust also. They haven't thrown any paper this year, and if they do, I'd probably get up and hit one of them.

It is wrong to keep Negro history out of the books. Sometimes I tell the white students things that the Negro has accomplished and they don't believe me. But I bring proof to them and tell them all the wrong the people are doing by not including Negro history in the history courses. I'm not taking any history this year, but last year I took civics—the study of government—and the only Negro we ran across the whole year was Booker T. Washington. He was a smart man, but there are a lot of people more important than he was that have done things and don't get recognition for it.

There's only one time that I have discussed prejudice with a teacher, and that was in my English class. We were studying about clear thinking and writing, and forming opinions. We got to the part about prejudice and forming prejudiced opinions and biased opinions. The teacher told me to lead the class in discussion. We had a very good debate on George Wallace and a lot of Negro leaders and segregationists. Some of the students, I found, were more conservative than I thought they were, but my teacher seemed to be more liberal than I thought he was.

I am the only Negro at school that's in the French Club. The rest of them aren't in clubs. I tried to join one club, but I wasn't accepted; I think it was because I'm a Negro, because there were a lot of guys who had much lower averages than I did who got into the club. I'm not bitter about it. I wasn't really anxious about joining it. There's always going to be somebody prejudiced.

There are some Negro instructors, but they are confined to the freshman class because the administration feels that all the students are inclined to be prejudiced against them. I think that they are wrong in this approach because anyone can adjust in time because I did it and a lot of my friends did it. A lot of my friends were as prejudiced as they could be before I knew them, but now they aren't because I made friends with them.

10402

Renee

Renee is a black student in her senior year at a predominantly white school located in a large city in the eastern part of the country. She has been taking academic and vocational courses and wants to go to college.

We have a good time at school, we have a pretty good time. Some of the students are prejudiced and they don't want to be

70-479 O - 72 - pt. 20 - 16

bothered with you, but others they'd give you their right arm, they were just that good friends. Like when I had left my lunch money at home or something, they would actually loan me money. A lot of the white kids would do it and some of them wouldn't. You know they felt they shouldn't be associated with colored, and they come over there and sit at the table and eat lunch with you just as big and bad. And when they get to talking about colored, they'd rather not say anything than say something against anybody's rights.

They usually keep an even number of colored kids in each class. Like my gym class there are four of us—there were four, one girl transferred, so that makes three. In my Latin class there are two of us. In my Algebra II class there are four of us. They have even numbers so, you know, everybody has a companion. Maybe it's just a coincidence, but that seems like an awful lot of coincidences to me.

For lunch all of us go out to the Waffle Shop, colored kids and white kids, all of us just like a little drove, a couple of colored kids spotted in like pepper and salt. It's not that they'll be trying to do everything for you, but you know, they just look at you as one of them. It doesn't make any difference to them. One colored boy was sitting there drinking chocolate milk, and this white girl came up beside him and said, "That's why you're colored now, you drink too much chocolate milk." See, little things like that, and she gave him a carton of white milk. I don't see anything to get upset about that, it's all in fun. If you can't take that, you don't need to be up there, I don't care what anybody says. A lot of kids feel that the white students are prejudiced, but I don't. Maybe because I can get along with them, and maybe it's because they like me or I like them or something like that, but I never really had any problems with any white persons except for the teachers.

After school everybody will be rushing home, and the way I come home, it's mostly colored kids, because white students live out the other way and all the colored kids come through downtown. There are about three kids up there that don't live out this way.

This white boy had a party over the weekend that was a downright party. We had a good time. I went. They're forever having parties and they wouldn't dream of having a party without us being there, because they always call us the soul-timers. We had the phone numbers of our homes up on the bulletin board, and a lot of students look up there and call us. I couldn't invite everybody out, living in an apartment, but we'd be going to so many parties, you don't have time to have any at your home, really. They don't worry about that. A lot of them come out there after school if they're going shopping. Practically all my friends have been out there where I live, and some of them have met both of my parents or know either my mother or my father. Practically everybody knows my father because he's forever up at that school straightening out messes.

That's why a lot of the colored kids have a hard time to go now, their parents don't come up to the school and show any interest. Sometimes my parents show too much, but then, too much is better than not enough.

When Martin Luther King was shot we went to school that Friday and these kids from another school called some students and said that they were coming up there that day and they wanted all colored students to boycott classes. If they didn't boycott class, they were going to come up to school and start rioting. So everybody was running around when they got to school and found this out. All the teachers left. We actually sat in classes with no teachers, because the teachers were afraid. The white students actually left school and they didn't care whether they got marked or cut in school or what, they left. And the others, they jammed the phone booth telling their parents to call the school to let them go home. By the time they had dismissed school that day, there wasn't anybody at school.

I have gone to so many different types of schools. When I went to this school there were about 25 colored kids in the whole school, and I was one of the 25. It didn't bother me. My junior high was mostly Negro. Whether the school is segregated, it doesn't make me any difference, so long as—if its predominantly white—they don't try to rub it in that I'm colored.

Dan

Dan, a black student, is a junior who attends a school in a large city in the Midwest. The school's enrollment is predominantly

white. Dan is an above average student and plans to become an electrical engineer.

It's a pretty nice school. It's not that old, I suppose it's about 10 years old. I think all the kids that are there seem to be pretty efficient and they're not prejudiced in any way, at least as far as I've encountered. There aren't any teachers that say, "I won't call on him because he's a Negro." They won't do that. In fact they tend to call on me more, because I raise my hand all the time.

We could have more Negro teachers over there, not because the white teachers are prejudiced or anything, but it'd just probably make the atmosphere maybe a little more relaxed, although I feel right now the atmosphere seems to be relaxed.

The church I go to is all-white. When I first went to it, I think we were about the only Negro family in the whole church. The only time that we had any trouble was when that one lady, and she was really an old lady, said, "Why don't you colored folks go to another church?" We just said that this was our church just as well as her church. Since then my whole family's been taken as members of the church.

We can date white girls, too. The school officials don't mind at all. In fact, the only time that you might run into a problem is when the parents don't care for it. In one case I know, a boy was going with a white girl and the principal called the parents to let them know about this. I don't know how necessary it was, but they just might have been prejudiced. Now, I believe this principal is very fair and he's definitely, in my opinion, not prejudiced at all.

Celestine

Celestine attends a school with a racial composition of equal numbers of black and white students. The school is located in a medium-sized city on the west coast. Celestine, a black student, is a senior and plans to go to college in the fall.

Negroes don't feel a part of the school. When our school is in the newspaper, you never see a Negro. In fact, a lot of people say that it is an all-white school.

Comparing my freshman year with my senior year, I don't seem like the same person. I thought all white men are good; I looked up to a white person and [thought] they were better than I was. I always tried to prove myself better than a white person, but I always thought they were smarter than I was; I guess they grow up in an environment where they just naturally have to be smart. Then, again, I always thought that Negroes were lower than they should be. I'm still mixed up, and I was really mixed up then.

I was reading up on a small portion of Negro history. It's just as much a part of history as government is. I found out that a lot of slaves invented things and the white man took it away from them because a slave wasn't allowed to invent things like that. I didn't know that this was true. You should see how they sold the people; it's like they were dogs.

It's not civil rights that we are striving for, it's human rights. Civil rights—I don't know how that ever got into the situation, because we are humans, and just to think about civil rights, what does that really mean? You just think about civil rights because you are human and it is right to do this; to go in and sit in the front of the bus or in the back of the bus. Civil rights has nothing to do with it. I never realized that until I went to a black student conference. It was really beautiful and you talk about Negroes pulling together—correction, black people really pulling together. While I was up there, I really felt like I was someone in this world with something to do. And the black men have more respect for the black women, and the women were so sweet and nice, and everyone was together.

I used to think that the Black Panthers were really bad and that all they thought about was rioting and things like that. Well, I got to meet two or three of them and they were really intelligent. They gave a play, a Negro play, about two Negro men and a white man who were in jail, and the difference in how they treat them and everything. The Negro guy got teed off because he couldn't get out of jail and he said, "Everything that I am today, you made me. I got it all from you." And just to think back and think about the white man—he has taught hate. To kill and steal, and things like this, where do we get this all from? When the white man first came over here, he brought disease—colds, chickenpox—to the Indians.

10404

As far as the skin problem is concerned, they're always trying to get dark like we are, maybe not as dark as we are. We always thought that the light skin was the best skin because the white man sets these standards.

Some Negroes really think they have bad hair, but really it's not bad hair, because if you take a white person's hair, they can't put a hot comb in there and press it out like we do they can't make it frizz all up and things like that, so who's to say who had the worse hair and who has the best hair. When the boys came out with this processed hair—Whew! Have I ever! That was the worst thing that could have ever happened to a Negro. Now that they have the naturals out, the Negro guys—the black guys—the Negro guys really look tough to me. It looks a lot better than this process stuff. And why do they do this? Because the white man set the standard that the straight hair is the best. My sister and I were debating this point straight hair and naturals for the Negro girls, and she said, "You're just saying that the straight hair looks better because the white man set the standard. If you weren't raised in a white America and you were used to tangled hair, you wouldn't think that straight hair was the best." And I said, "Okay, what you said is right, but you said 'if'. But I was raised in this white man's world and I do think that straight hair, on some people, looks better; and I think that the naturals, on some people, look better. When I see a girl with a natural and a girl with straight hair, and the girl in the natural looks worse, I'm not going to lie. To me, she looks bad, and the girl with the straight hair, if she looks better, she looks better. And there's no way in the world that you can tell me differently, unless my environment is going to be around black people with natural hair for the next 50 centuries."

But black people have already stated that blackness is a state of mind; you don't have to wear a natural to be black. You don't have to wear raggedy clothes to be black. You don't have to wear black to be black. It's how you feel. Some people aren't as militant as other people, but they're still black and they're aware of it, and they're proud of it. To some people, black is really if you're proud of your color; if you're accepting what you are.

You go up to a lot of these kids and say, "I'm black and you're black, too," and they say, "No, no, I'm not black; I'm not black. I'm anything but black." They really think that this is a disgrace. A lot of black people say that if you don't think the way they do that you're wrong, you're an Uncle Tom, you've been brainwashed, and stuff like that which is really not right. Everyone should learn to respect the other person's opinion, even though theirs is different; not accept it, just respect it. That's why the white men left their mother country because they didn't feel free over there and they wanted freedom of speech and they respected the others' personal opinion[s]. But they came over here and did the same thing their mother country did. It's going to take all the youth of America to pull together to help this sick world.

We're living in a white America and we have to realize it and try to make it an unwhite America. We have to make it an America, period. We aren't striving to make America just a black man's world, it's just that you have to be aware of blackness, and not ashamed of it.

Ollie

Ollie attends a school with a large nonwhite enrollment. The school is in a medium-sized city in the Northeast. Ollie is a black student in his senior year and plans to attend college.

There was one boy from our high school who said that the only way to get something is to play that Uncle Tom role. And he'd come among the black students and tell us that he is aware of this blackness inside. I said, "Well, don't come to me and tell me that you are aware of your blackness. Go to the white man and tell him. Don't play that Uncle Tom role, because to him you are Uncle Tom straight. He don't know what you feel here inside and it don't make any sense. You are not accomplishing nothing to come to me and say that you are with me."

During school you always had to almost plead for something that you wanted, and I was at a point that I really thought that I hated all white people. But then I sat down and thought about it and I discussed it with my mother and saw there was no reason for hate.

I have always been in the kind of environment all through

10405

253

10406

school, not only just white people doing things to me—hindering me and holding me back—but my own people. That is what really hurts, because you expect the white man to do something. You expect it. But when it comes from your own ranks, it catches you by surprise. That is mainly part of the reason why we are here because the black people we put faith in at that time showed us they were all for us, and all they have done is gotten higher positions.

Every time you pick up a paper it says, this black student did this, and people build their feelings on what they read. In the paper we were dirty dogs; we were hoodlums. A lot of people who don't even know us had the conception, "Gosh, these guys must be really terrible." But they should really be in things, get out there at that high school and sit in on what goes on in the administration, get in the classes and see how they teach and what the kids learn; get in and find out what these kids are fighting about, because nobody is going to get up there and fight for no reason. When you have a riot, you have a problem, you really do.

If I were to come to you and tell you my grievances, you would automatically say, "Okay, we will see about this." If you are shunting me off and I try every way to get across to you peacefully like things should be, and nothing happens, what do I have left to do but violence? Everybody knocks violence, but you can't get anything unless you can bring the white man to the conference table, and that white man is too ignorant to look at the fact of what lies ahead, so there is nothing else but violence.

Black power is not violence, but sticking together. Black power is awareness of yourself, political power, economic power, but a lot of people don't understand this. They just think of it as violence.

I would like to see the day when the black man, as a whole—not just my community, but as a whole—the black man can have something that really belongs to him; if he can just grab his culture and learn it thoroughly, and then pass it on and not feel that anything white is right. Like I would get up to making about $20,000 a year and come in your neighborhood and tell you, "This is right and this is wrong. I feel for you." And go back up here in my white neighborhood and forget about you.

Instead of moving into a white neighborhood, build up your own neighborhood. That is what I mean, because the black man pays. The moment he gets some money in his pocket and he can do something with it, he has to go out and marry a white woman or a white man or move in a white neighborhood. Then everything, to him, is great; he has accomplished a goal in his life.

Not the generation now; now the feeling is, "Get up and pull somebody else up with you," and that is what I want. I want to see radical changes in schools. I want to see more institutions, colleges, universities, high schools owned and operated by black citizens, because I feel that the white man can't really teach you about yourself. He can tell you, but he can't really feel it, but if I am black and I am in front of a black person telling him about his culture, then I am interested because I am learning something that makes me feel good. When I talk about black culture, it really is a burden; I just run off. It is something I could just talk about and talk about.

I would like to see the attitude of some of our people change; to stop saying that the white man owes them something; they can get out there and really do something, because if you wait, you are not going to get it. You might as well strive a little bit, and when you get up there, you can do something—that is when you are really operating.

Pat

Pat is a black student who attends a predominantly white school in a medium-sized city in the Southwest. She is a senior and plans to attend college to prepare herself for a career in social work.

I transferred to this school as soon as the schools were integrated. I have to admit that it has been the best school that I have attended, and I have enjoyed it in the sense that I learned a great deal, but socially, it falls short. I don't really know if I made any white friends at this school because everybody at the school smiles.

When King was assassinated, I got so sick of people grinning.

I was tired of walking half to three-quarters of the way with my hand extended and not seeing a hand to put in mine. A girl told me, "You have become bitter as a result of King's death," and I said, "What do you expect?" They would say, "Well, here we are; we want to be friends, now." I'd say, "Well, then, you have to understand. We are human; I think we are super-human, as a matter of fact, to take a lot of this junk. But you have to understand that it is hard, by now. It is going to take a little getting used to. Here you come, all of a sudden, and you haven't had nothing to say to me before."

I wore a black mourning band, and they thought it was some kind of conspiracy. I said, "Well, you deserve to think it, if you are that dumb." They don't understand. They don't know why I would burn down their house. All they are going to say is, "Please don't." or "Niggers burning up the city; they are at it again. It's all they can do."

I always have to remember the first day I came to this school. I sat down at my desk and everybody gets up like I have the plague, and after the first grading period when I get A's and B's, they said, "Well, the Negro has sense." Everybody comes to you like you are a magnet, and I don't like to feel they are using me because I can do something for them, because I feel like I am the same person I was when I came here, except now they know a little more about me and what I have on the ball.

White kids do everything. Really I was surprised at the things they do, the way they talk to the teachers and stuff. In black schools, kids would get smacked around for questioning people, and you don't dare contradict the teacher in some classes, or dare say the man in the book is wrong, because there is this thing about, "He wrote the book; obviously, he must know more about it than you." I think it is a question of attitudes, because nobody ever ran around telling me "You are inferior," but I was listening for it all the time, so I could hear it. Teachers read books or something and say, "They probably do like this at the white school, but we aren't able; you people can't do it." Students don't realize it is cutting them down. I didn't see feeling inferior to anybody, especially if you can hold your own; but I did, and I still do, despite everything. I attribute this to the fact that this is the way my parents have taught me to think and act. I am sure they don't do it on purpose. I can't hate them for it, because I realize this is just a result of living in their times.

The thing that is very sad is that many of the black students are not even aware of the fact that they are black. I think, personally, I was made more aware of my blackness after going to this school, because you can either do one of two things; try to be white or you will be black, as black as you really are.

In our lunch room we have this table, and I call it Harlem, because this is where all the soul people sit. When I first went there I would say, "Ah, this is ridiculous, we cannot all sit together." But now I feel, "Well, why not?" because if whites are really genuinely together, and they want to be your friend, they don't mind coming over and sitting with you. Many of the black students are not willing to say, "You come over here." I am sick of the white students saying, "All right, you can sit with me." I feel, "Well, why don't you come sit with me instead?" It is not that the black students try to be white, it is just that they aren't ready to say, "Look, people, you have got to look at me and try to see things my way for a change."

We wanted to get a club organized for the purpose of black awareness. What we had in mind was a meeting place so the black students could get with the white students and just talk about it—what you think of me and what I think of you, so that you can see that I am good for more than just waiting on you and working in your kitchen and stuff like that. I think the reason a lot of white people act the way they do is because they don't know.

This guy who lives in a very la-de-da neighborhood for white folks came up with this thing about rioting and how ridiculous it is. I said, "Well, I don't advocate rioting. Nobody organizes riots, so I am not for that, but I can understand why it happened. You run around setting up programs for the culturally deprived Negroes, showing them stuff they never can have—take and guide them through your section of town, these big $50,000 homes; take them to the art galleries and they don't even know what a painting is and take them to the opera when you know

254

10407

they will never go again." And he is sitting at his big, plush home and has never seen the slums. I said, "We need to get a program for culturally deprived white people to show you what a slum is." They just don't understand it. They don't know. They have had everything they wanted, needed and everything and I guess they can't be expected to know what it's like not to.

I have gotten used to being not in with it, because I was ostracized by black people for going to white schools. There was this thing, "Oh, she thinks she is too good to go here." And then, the white people don't want you, so you are just sort of there. Of course, this is all part of the desegregation experience. I don't consider myself to be really warped or one-sided, but I was last year, because it was such an adjustment. "Here I am; nobody wants me"—and I didn't go anywhere; I just stayed home and studied all the time.

Many, many black people down those of us who go to white schools; because they feel we thought we were too good to go to the black schools. What good does it do to spend thousands of dollars, years in court if you are not going to send the students after you get the schools open?

The whole purpose of education is to go out so that you can prepare yourself to work and live with people and I haven't learned that at this school. The solution to the problem lies in the schools. You can't kill off all the racist parents. They will eventually die, but we don't have time to wait while they are messing up their children's minds. You spend more time in school than you do at home, and if the schools were set up right, if they learned about black people, if we could understand why and talk about the problems, then I think much more would be accomplished. The students could help their parents to understand; I think we could even help influence our parents, unless they are just really zero.

We are being trained, not educated, and this goes back to everything that I said about learning how to live with people and finding your place in the world. I liken what I am getting now to going to the top of the Himalayas with the finest teachers, the finest library, studying for 10 years, and I am all but a genius when I come out. I go into the world, and nothing fits. I am a misfit. I am there tick, tick, ticking.

255

10408

THE MISEDUCATION OF WHITE CHILDREN*

Education in a democratic society must equip the children of the Nation to realize their potential and to participate fully in American life. For the community at large, the schools have discharged this responsibility well.

REPORT OF THE NATIONAL ADVISORY COMMISSION ON CIVIL DISORDERS

The preceding chapter indicated how our public schools have provided a vastly substandard education for black children. The inadequacy of ghetto schools has been well documented in the Kerner report and other studies. But, as the above quotation illustrates, there is no recognition of the miseducation of white children.

The most affluent, best-equipped schools present white children with a distorted view of black people and other races. Textbooks do not even touch on the depth and pervasiveness of racism within the white community. It is almost as though we were indoctrinating our children rather than helping them to learn for themselves what the world of people is all about. As John Holt says in "How Children Fail," ". . . we are not honest about ourselves, our own fears, limitations, weaknesses, prejudices, motives. We present ourselves to children as if we were gods, all-knowing, all-powerful, always rational, always just, always right." [1] Such an education, rather than preparing white children to recognize, understand, and deal with the racial contradiction in our society, glosses over it as though it did not exist or was not of major importance. Children are brought up to accept America's racism and yet to believe in freedom, justice, and equality for all. Social studies textbooks, because they provide a common element in teaching in many classrooms of many schools, are prime contributors to the institutional racism which pervades white education.

AMERICAN HISTORY

In their treatment of racial matters, American history textbooks present an idealized and distorted picture of the national state of affairs. In the past the general public—most teachers and school administrators included—has either been unaware of the "great lie of silence," as Mark Twain put it, or has chosen to let half-truths remain as educational content. Although there recently have been efforts to correct errors and to include the black American in textbooks, these efforts still fall far short of a fair treatment. The new texts, although less overly racist than the old, are marked by the same inability to acknowledge the historical and present disparity between our stated ideals and actual institutional practices. This lack of a self-critical

*Reprinted from Chapter 4, "Institutional Racism in America," Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1969, Englewood Cliffs, N.J.

[1] John Holt, How Children Fail (New York: Dell, 1964), p. 170.

perspective extends to the treatment of other societies, particularly the nonwhite, non-Western, nonindustrialized cultures, which are evaluated in terms of their acceptance or rejection of white American values.

The treatment of American minority groups in traditional textbooks has been abominable, with publishers catering to the "Southern view." A study by the Anti-Defamation League covering the 24 major secondary school U.S. history texts in 1949 and again in 1961 showed that the treatment of Asiatic and Spanish-speaking minorities had improved steadily if slowly, although there was still much distortion in the 1961 texts. However, the position of the Negro in texts over this period had not changed; he remained invisible. [2]

A study of the texts used in California public schools in 1964 showed the same results: "While the authors of the books must know that there are Negroes in America and have been since 1619, they evidently do not care to mention them too frequently. In one book there is no account of slavery in the colonial period; in a second, there is not a single word about Negroes after the Civil War; in a third (composed of documents and substantive chapters), the narrative does not mention Negroes in any connection." [3]

In treating the history of race relations, the authors of these texts take pains not to mention anything that might cause disagreement among whites. The 1964 survey continues: ". . . all the texts play down or ignore the long history of violence between Negroes and whites, suggesting that racial contacts have been characterized by a 'progressive harmony.' In their blandness and amoral optimism, these books implicitly deny the obvious deprivations suffered by Negroes. In several places they go further, implying approval for the repression of Negroes or patronizing them as being unqualified for life in a free society." [4]

The textbooks consistently ignore or stereotype the black man's present position in America as well as his historical role. In the Anti-Defamation League's study, three-fourths of the books mention blacks somewhere, but only half refer to them in present society. One-fourth—six books—give the name of some contemporary black. Of these, one mentions only a baseball player, and one limits its coverage to two prizefighters.

The scanty coverage of recent events usually lacks sufficient background material to be understandable. For instance, half of the books mention the Supreme Court's desegregation decision in 1954. But only two books give any consideration to the underlying principles and to the ongoing attempts at evasion.

Since 1963 the pressure of the civil rights movement has brought a rash of new integrated textbooks. These multiethnic texts are less overtly racist and include more Negro history and some treatment of the civil rights movement and of black people's position in contem-

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[2] Lloyd Marcus, "The Treatment of Minorities in Secondary School Textbooks" (New York: Anti-Defamation League, 1961) pp. 38–48.

[3] Kenneth M. Stampp, Winthrop D. Jordan, et al., "The Negro in American History Textbooks," unpublished paper accepted unanimously by the California State Board of Education on March 12, 1964, p. 2.

[4] Ibid., pp. 2–3.

porary America. Yet the texts fall short of an accurate statement of white individual and institutional racism and of the life and struggles of black people throughout the history of America.

For the most part, the new multiethnic texts are limited to a self-conscious correction of past mistakes rather than presenting a coherent reinterpretation of American history. A study produced by the American Federation of Teachers (AFL–CIO) of junior and senior high texts published up to December 1967, points out the uneven treatment in the new texts.[5] Not only do they vacillate between accuracy and overt racist distortion, but they also frequently contain 200- and 300-page gaps with no mention of black people. Ofter those minority people and events covered are dealt with very briefly and with no depth of understanding.

A shortcoming even more serious than the inconsistent and superficial treatment of black people in American history is the misleading optimism which pervades coverage of racial matters. The authors of the new books assume that assimilation of blacks into the present American society is possible and desired by both blacks and whites. In accord with this assumption the authors minimize individual racism, ignore institutional racism, and exaggerate white support for the black struggle. In addition, they fail to mention any black political or cultural forces that assert an ethnic or cultural identity of their own or that are irected toward any other goal than assimilation into white America.

The new texts emphasize what whites have done in the civil rights movement, but they play down the extent and violent nature of white opposition to the struggle for equality. Thus, the books stress legislation, the area in which whites have done most of their work for civil rights. But the legislative loopholes and the nonenforcement of civil rights laws are largely ignored. Furthermore, the texts do not recognize the problems which legislation alone cannot solve, problems such as unemployment, police brutality, or lack of access to positions of power.

The cumulative impact of these errors in the texts is a superficially optimistic outlook. For example, a senior high text capsulizes the recent decades:

> Following both World War I and World War II, millions of Negroes moved to Northern cities. As voters and office-holders there, they were able to wield great political influence. Many Negroes joined organizations whose main purpose was to obtain for Negroes "equal protection of the laws" in all respects. As more and more Negroes got a better education and improved their economic status in both North and South, they demanded an end to all discrimination. Many whites, many of them influential, supported their cause.[6]

And that is the end of the text's coverage. Such a passage exaggerates grossly the meager powers blacks have gained within the American system, leaving the impression that a black-white coalition is rapidly

[5] Irving Sloan, The Negro in Modern American History Textbooks, and ed. (Washington, D.C.: American Federation of Teachers, AFL–CIO, 1967).
[6] Ibid., p. 28.

and smoothly eliminating domination and discrimination. It ignores the fact that with the concentration of the black population in deteriorating city ghettos, racial inequities have become more obvious and racial tensions have grown correspondingly.

Even the history text "Land of the Free," which was commended by the AFT pamphlet for its treatment of the civil rights movement, exaggerates the role of whites, particularly the Federal Government.[7] The text implies that the important advances which have theoretically been made came about through action by the Federal Government which would have occurred without the demonstrations:

> Nowhere does it [the Constitution] call for demonstrations. Yet without the demonstrations, Presidents Kennedy and Johnson might not have called *so effectively* for the Civil Rights Act of 1964 or President Johnson *so eloquently* for the Voting Act of 1965.[8]

In fact, 50 years of pressure by the NAACP, SCLC, SNCC, CORE, and other organizations through legal suits, speeches, and demonstrations were necessary before the President or Congress found it relevant or politically necessary to put their stamp of approval on any such legislation.

When giving coverage to a demonstration such as the 1963 March on Washington, "Land of the Free" gives credit only to Martin Luther King, although CORE and SNCC were the major organizers. Again and again texts play down those organizations whose views or methods are outside the bounds of that which the dominant white community judges to be an acceptable means of dissent. "Land of the Free" also assumes that the Federal Government is actively enforcing the legislation. Yet nonenforcement of integration laws has been the Government's de facto policy since the end of Reconstruction.[9]

No mention is made in any of the texts of the deeply imbedded Jim Crow system which originated and developed in the North while Southern blacks were still slaves. Most important, none of the new texts recognize the racism imbedded in the institutions of American society today. The texts treat black people as though they were one of the immigrant groups. Immigrants, the authors of "Land of the Free" state, became part of the national community because they "all were committed to being Americans," and thus were willing to give up their old ways.[10] The unstated corollary is that as blacks become Americanized they will enter the mainstream of society. This argument by analogy overlooks the barriers which racism has placed between black people and participation in American society. Furthermore, it assumes that a process of Americanization must take place that includes the abandonment of cultural and ethnic identity. On the one hand, it is important to keep in mind that white immigrant groups have by no means been forced to give up their ethnic ties before assuming positions of power and influence. On the other, it must be at least considered as a possibility that black cultural and

[7] John W. Caughey, John Hope Franklin, and Ernest R. May, Land of the Free (Pasadena, California: Franklin Publications, Inc., 1967).
[8] Ibid., p. 615, italics added.
[9] See Chap. 8, pp. 116–118.
[10] Caughey, et al., p. 425.

racial identity are stronger and more essential to the black community than are the bonds of any white group in America. The failure to understand white racism and the reality of ethnic identity leaves high school students with the mistaken notion that the racial crisis is a Negro problem rather than a white problem.

Not only do the new texts present assimilation into white society as presently feasibly for blacks, but they also imply that assimilation has been the goal of all black politics and culture. The books mention only those trends in black thought and action which can be readily accepted by whites, those which fit into the mainstream of American life. Even "Land of the Free," a book attacked in some quarters for its excessive coverage of Negro history, illustrates this whitewashing of black politics and culture.[11]

In dealing with the civil rights movement, "Land of the Free" emphasizes the Supreme Court decision on school integration in 1954 and the work of Martin Luther King—the only black named as a leader of demonstrations. There is considerable space devoted to the programs of Booker T. Washington, but only passing reference to W. E. B. DuBois, a founder of the NAACP, who came much closer to demanding full human rights for black people. DuBois' demands were unacceptable to the whites in power. His forthright attack on American racism is as repugnant to the whites in control of textbooks today as it was during his lifetime. Militant organizations such as CORE and SNCC and the black separatist movements of Marcus Garvey, the Black Muslims, and Malcolm X are entirely ignored. Thus the text brings the struggle for black liberation into the American system by stressing white participation and Government support, while failing to recognize any leaders or groups which asserted black identity or demanded more than white America was ready to allow. This approach does not convey the severity of the oppression or the bitterness of the struggle for self-determination; it also leaves the white student without an awareness of the rapidly growing trend toward black consciousness and self-rule in the black community.

Coverage of the culture of black people is negligible. Only those areas are covered which have influenced the tastes and values of white America. For example, in "Land of the Free" blues are not mentioned at all, and jazz is mentioned only insofar as it was popular in mainstream America in general in the 1920's. The text mentions no black musicians or athletes, presumably because the California Curriculum Commission has ordered that books should help pupils to refrain from attempts at stereotyping. Admittedly, a discussion of black musicians and athletes alone would not be adequate coverage of black culture, but their exclusion has not been balanced by the inclusion of black authors, artists, and social thinkers. Stereotyping is not remedied by reducing the amount of information but by increasing its volume and scope.

Foreign History

The ethnocentrism of white American society affects the way our textbooks treat not only whites and blacks in America, but also how they treat the history and culture of other peoples. The attitudes that

[11] Several well known periodicals carry the story of the opposition to the Land of the Free when it became a California State textbook.

one's own race, Nation, and culture are superior to all others may be natural but nevertheless very dangerous beliefs. American textbooks generally treat European culture as basically the same as our own with the addition of the accumulated ornaments of antiquity. However, when dealing with areas beyond the white, Western world, the authors change their approach significantly.

The treatment of people of color in nonindustrialized countries, even in the new textbooks, denies the existence of fully integrated cultures based upon values and institutions different from our own. An anthropologist from a major university who had just received the edited version of a fourth-grade monograph on a south sea island cultural remarked that "as usual, the editors have cut everything that was actually different from American culture." He commented further that he always had to tone down cultural differences when writing and that publishers, hoping to sell their books widely, cut out most of what was left.

Let us take the elementary school children in California schools as an example. They are exposed to African culture in the regular curriculum only through two short chapters in the seventh-grade "Eurasia" [12] and, if their school has purchased them, through two supplementary books—one a seventh-grade supplement to "Eurasia" entitled "Africa." [13] The brevity of coverage would be partially excusable if the material were fair. But a survey of "Eurasia" and "Africa" shows how our racism, ethnocentrism, and paternalism are interwoven.

"Eurasia" begins: "Until about sixty years ago, Africa was often spoken of as the Dark Continent." The rest of this chapter makes it clear that, thanks to white efforts, this name is becoming less appropriate. The history of Africa in both this and the supplementary text is the story of how Europeans discovered and developed Africa.

In "Africa" there is not a single discussion of a traditional African culture that gives a sense of different values and another way of life from that in America. The very categories into which the discussion of African life is divided do not allow for other than an ethnocentric presentation. Following a single chapter on the races and ecology of African people, the headings for the rest of the book are "Farming and Grazing," "Natural Resources," "Industry," "Transportation," "Cities of Africa," and "Education and Health." Thus the book deals almost entirely with technology and economy, the most important factors in American eyes and the dimensions of society in which Africa suffers most by comparison.

Despite the fact that anthropologists and historians now document the existence of highly organized civilizations with complex legal systems in sub-Sahara Africa for the last 15 to 20 centuries,[14] "Africa" suggests continually that Africans did not know how to govern themselves until Europeans instructed them: "As more Africans became educated and learned about life in the rest of the world, they came to believe that they would have better lives if they could govern them-

[12] Robert M. Glendinning, and Marguerite U. Hley, Eurasia: Lands and Peoples of the World (Boston: Ginn and Co., 1958).

[13] William D. Allen, Africa (Sacramento, Calif.: California State Department of Education, 1964).

[14] Basil Davidson, The Lost Cities of Africa (Boston: Little, Brown, 1959).

selves. . . . In some parts of Africa, the people do not yet know how to govern themselves in a peaceful orderly way. . . . The British Government has worked hard to train the people in its colonies for self-government." [15] These passages continue the sterotype of the Dark Continent to which benevolent Europeans brought the gift of enlightment.

There is no recognition of the rights of African people. These books discuss colonization without one word as to what Africans felt about this usurpation and exploitation of themselves, their resources, and their cultures. The struggle against European domination and the process of gaining independence are mentioned only with the doubtful comment that where tribes have had little contact with the outside world, "they are greatly puzzled by the changes and often resentful of coming foreigners." [16] It is not asked why foreigners are invading the territory.

Western influence is lumped together under the heading of modernization and is implicity considered good: "Since 1900 great changes have taken place in Africa, and changes are continuing rapidly today. People from other continents are penetrating to all parts of Africa. They are bringing with them modern ideas and modern ways of living and working." [17] The books do not admit the exploitation of African labor and resources and the destruction of native culture that have accompanied foreign modernization. In "Africa's" single attempt to pay homage to traditional craftsmen, the handmade goods are admitted to be "beautiful," but "craftsmen cannot produce the things needed for a modern way of life." [18] The implication is that the acquisition of any European way of life is the only acceptable social goal, and therefore the craftsmen must be replaced.

Given the assumption that modernization has first priority and the fact that Africa's people "do not have the money or equipment to build dams, powerplants, industries, schools, hospitals, and other things that they must have to become modern nations," [19] it follows that Africans must be dependent on the paternalism of white Western nations. In this view, just as the Africans needed Europeans to show them how to govern themselves, they now need Europeans to show them how to build up their countries. Thus the texts prepare the way for a very favorable presentation of current white paternalism toward Africa. "People in other parts of the world are trying to help the nations of Africa. Britain, France, and other former colonial powers are lending money and sending engineers and other skilled workers to Africa. The United Nations, the United States, and the Soviet Union are also giving aid." [20] Pictures show European foremen instructing African laborers. The greater part of "Africa" is spent in discussing the dams, schools, industries, and roads which white men have either built or shown Africans how to build.

Underlying the treatment of nonwhite cultures in "Eurasia" and "Africa" are the assumptions that white values and forms of government are by nature good and must be shared with the less fortunate

[15] Allen, pp. 53–54.
[16] Glendinning and Hley, p. 324.
[17] Ibid., p. 315.
[18] Allen, p. 116.
[19] Ibid., pp. 54–55.
[20] Ibid., p. 55.

nonwhites of the world. Africans are presented not as having a different culture and way of life from white Americans, but as having no culture worth saving. Africans may be seen as good only when they have adopted the modern white way of life. Until then people of color should be grateful to whites for their generosity in helping them to become white. The presentation in the new texts is merely a continuation of the old white-man's-burden notion in more subtle form. But the use of "modern," "Western," and "European" in place of "white" does not change the fact of underlying racism. Through books such as these, American schoolchiidren today are acquiring the same sense of white superiority to other cultures that their parents and grandparents learned from lessons about savages and the Dark Continent. In a manner similar to the new American history textbooks, "Eurasia" and "Africa" carry on the racism of their predecessors in a form that is less overt but just as false and dangerous.

Conclusion

The distortions taught in our schools have not been caught and changed largely because whites control curriculum even in most overwhelmingly minority areas. Most books are selected at the State or the school district level, neither of which have anywhere near proportional representation of minority groups. Moreover, regardless of who controls selection, the choice is limited to books written, edited, and published by whites concerned with profit. The standards have been fairly clear, though unstated, and most of the coercion polite. The author, interested in selling his books, has usually done the cutting himself. As Jules Henry pointed out, "The same fear, the same self-serving, governs those who make the book as it governs those who have the power to say 'yes' or 'no' to the publication of a book."

In summary, our public schools, through the use of racist textbooks written, edited, published, selected, and taught by whites, are inculcating into white children false notions of superiority over people of color by presenting a distorted view of the historical and contemporary roles of whites and nonwhites in the world. In addition, our schools teach children an attitude of optimism toward race relations, a notion that "things aren't really so bad" and "everything will work out" if we just keep on as we have been doing. Our school system, like our society in general, fails to recognize that the ideals of justice and equality for all cannot be achieved without fundamental change in the institutions of white America.

This chapter has concentrated on a few textbooks in order to show in some detail what children are exposed to in school. We have deliberately refrained from picking the worst points from a wide selection of texts. Although concentrating here on textbooks, on the assumption that textbooks are the most concrete source of classroom information, it should be remembered that textbooks do not teach children. The well-informed teacher can instill understanding in her students irrespective of biases and prejudices in textbooks, and the poorly informed teacher, especially if she herself has racial prejudices, can undermine even the best text.

Most teachers are between these two extremes. Often they recognize the problem, but have neither the time nor resources to revise their understanding of U.S. history, either in the domestic sphere or

in U.S. foreign policies. The vast majority of today's adult generation grew up with textbooks and classroom instruction far more prejudiced in content than that represented by "Eurasia" and "Africa." Often the parents who want to see that their children mature free of racial prejudices and distortions do not have a full understanding of how the myth of racial superiority is bound up in the history of nearly all white nations of the world. These parents are not prepared to accept the major changes that must come about in education to create a truly nonracist program.

Even a new analysis of history and world affairs will not automatically bring either the teacher or the parent to the point where he no longer communicates covertly racist attitudes to the child. Such covert communication will continue until teachers of the young become conscious of a racist bias at the personal and psychological level as well as at the factual and analytic level.

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